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International Defense & Aid Fund for South Africa

African famine draws little U.S. emergency aid

By James North

British television showed a documentary film late last year that portrayed the danger of widespread famine in Mozambique, which is one of the 24 African nations that have suffered the worst drought in memory. The film explained that some 600,000 to 700,000 Mozambiquans were in imminent danger of dying from hunger. After the program, shocked viewers swamped British relief agencies with offers to contribute to the emergency effort. Some even volunteered to go to Mozambique themselves.

By contrast, the famine has received very little publicity in the U.S. so far, even though it is more serious and widespread than the Sahelian drought that hit the sub-Sahara in the early '70s. During 1983, rainfall was below normal or non-existent across a wide belt of Africa, from Senegal in the west to Ethiopia in the east. The drought cut another swath down the east coast all the way to Lesotho. It is probably the lack of publicity and consequent public concern that explains why the Reagan administration has proposed an amount of emergency aid that is totally inadequate.

In January, the UN's Food and Agriculture Organization (FAO) estimated that the afflicted countries still need 1.6 million metric tons of food. FAO emphasized that 75 percent of the aid must be delivered right away—700,000 tons by March and another 500,000 tons by June. The emergency food will cost somewhere around \$500 to \$600 million.

Only governments have the capacity to provide a sum of this magnitude. Catholic Relief Services of New York, which is probably the largest private charity working in Africa, has doubled its emergency funding to about \$25 million—a welcome amount, but still only a small proportion of the need.

In the past, the U.S. has traditionally provided about half the emergency aid in such disasters. The Reagan administration in late January offered \$90 million, which is only about 14 percent. Also upsetting, the appropriation is part of other legislation that may be delayed in congressional committees while people in Africa continue to starve.

Luckily, there is a growing bipartisan effort in Congress to double or triple the emergency aid and speed it into law. In the Senate, Republicans Rudy Boschwitz of Minnesota and John Danforth of Missouri, who made a special trip to Africa to investigate the drought and was horrified at what he saw, are leading the fight, while Democratic Representatives William Gray of Pennsylvania and Ted Weiss of New York are active in the House. The maneuverings are taking place right now, and the pro-aid alliance needs and welcomes expressions of public support.

One almost certain consequence of the famine is that it will reinforce the negative view of Africa that has become increasingly prominent in the American media in the past few years. There have been a number of articles that have put forward the view that Africa has "failed" to realize the bright promise of independence, that it is even "dying." Time headlined a recent cover story "A Continent Gone Wrong," and spoke of "Africa's blight and decay." A segment of the TV program 60 Minutes concen-

trated on Lagos, the Nigerian capital, dwelling at length on filth, corruption and administrative bungling. This famine, with its inevitable pictures of desperate people lining up for emergency food, will only strengthen the view of an Africa on the edge of disaster.

There is something more than a little suspect about commentators who generalize freely about "Africa," which is, after all, a continent with 50 countries and 500 million people. You doubt they would speak so breezily about "Europe." Also, they tend to reveal the limited extent of their investigations by the signs of breakdown they cite: power cuts in hotels in the capital city, where jet-setting journalists stay, are unlikely to be of great concern to the rural poor, 90 percent of the population in many countries, who never enjoyed electricity.

Still, there is no denying that many African nations are in crisis, of which the present threat of famine is only the latest, if the most frightening sign. The fault in the Africa Failure analysis is that it either suggests wrong reasons for that crisis or even presents no reasons at all. The result is analogous to minutely describing the wretched conditions in a detention camp without adequately explaining how the prisoners got there—or even explaining that they are there against their will.

The most prevalent faulty explanation blames Africa's crisis on "the population explosion," which is simply outstripping food production. It is true that African countries have high birth rates, although that is understandable where half of all children may die before the age of five and where those who survive are essential to helping their families in the fields and later providing for their aged parents. But despite the growth in population, there is still normally more than enough food to go around. The problem is that many people are too poor to buy enough of it. Even in times of crisis, food shortages are a social rather than a technical problem. During the Sahelian drought in the early '70s, some of the afflicted countries steadily continued to export peanuts, cotton, vegetables and meat.

The more sophisticated Africa Failure theorists tend to blame the ruling elites in each country. They argue that African leaders are guilty of gross economic mismanagement, epidemic corruption and often brutal repression. They cite at length murderous, grotesque dictators like Idi Amin of Uganda and the Emperor Bokassa of Central Africa.

Here again, the description is accurate, but it does not amount to an explanation. The leaderships in many African nations are undeniably the cause of much suffering among their people. But those leaders were trained in Western or Western-style institutions and governments.

Idi Amin came to power in 1972 with Western approval, which continued nearly to the end of his reign. It was Tanzania, one of the world's 25 poorest countries, that overthrew him. Even today, Mobutu Sese Seko of Zaire, who presides over one of the most decadent kleptocracies, stays in power due to massive Western economic and military aid. It is quite reasonable to criticize Mobutu, but it is wrong to regard his rule as a wholly African phenomenon.

Mobutu and his counterparts enjoy Western confidence and support partly because they supervise the production and export of primary products like cocoa, cotton and copper. In many countries, the whole pattern of land tenure, government taxation, investment in infrastructure and so on concentrates meager resources into producing one or a few of these export products. In return for maintaining this system, the African elites get a percentage of the overseas earnings, which they are then free to squander on imported automobiles and other luxury items. In east Africa, such people are even called "waBenzi"—"the people of the Mercedes-Benz." Meanwhile, the rural poor go hungry. When

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a disaster like this drought hits, they can starve.

The obvious answer to this tragedy is to organize the rural poor to increase their political and economic power. Some African governments—Mozambique, Angola, Zimbabwe and a few others—have tried to do just that. But these efforts have still not earned them the respect of the Africa Failure critics, who tend to make fun of their mistakes. It seems more than a little unfair to sneer at the waBenzi problem and simultaneously dismiss efforts, however imperfect, toward a solution.

Certainly not all of Africa's problems are the fault of the outside world. Ethnic rivalries have in many places hindered national unity and regional cooperation, and sometimes have even broken out in bloody wars. In other cases, leaders came to power promising genuine change, only to betray their people by turning away from democracy and toward corruption.

But that is no excuse for ignoring the Western contribution to Africa's misery. Any solution to the continent's crisis will require at least sympathy and some support in Europe and the U.S. Otherwise, this terrible famine will not be the last.

James North was formerly IN THESE TIMES' southern Africa correspondent.

Private agencies giving emergency aid to Africa include:

- **Africare**, Suite 600, 1601 Connecticut Ave., NW, Washington, DC 20009
- **Catholic Relief Services**, 1011 First Ave., New York, NY 10022
- **CARE**, Suite 850, 1016 Sixteenth St., NW, Washington, DC 20036

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By Diana Johnstone

B O N N

THE GERMAN PEACE MOVEMENT spent its hibernation studying NATO strategy. As it starts to revive in anticipation of Easter marches and a fresh calendar of actions, the focus of opposition is broadening from Pershing II and Cruise missiles to the whole "offensive war-fighting strategy" to which the missiles belong.

Although a few hardy souls spent the winter in protest vigil outside Mutlangen Pershing II base, the movement has avoided fixation on missile sites.

Winter best sellers in the peace movement have been translations of the American military literature explaining the new "AirLand Battle" concept for electronically combining nuclear, conventional and chemical "deep strikes" into enemy territory. At this year's first national action conference in Cologne on February 12, more than 1,000 representatives of divergent groups agreed on a "minimal consensus" stressing the need to continue opposition to missile deployment as a key element of "a comprehensive militarily and politically offensive war fighting strategy of the U.S. and NATO in the atomic, conventional, chemical and electronic fields."

Everyone is against AirLand Battle. But there is disagreement between those who want to combat the new offensive strategy within NATO, and those who advocate withdrawal from it. So far, the withdrawal advocates are a minority, led by radical Third World groups who analyze the global significance of AirLand Battle in North-South rather than East-West terms. With U.S. Army texts to back them up, they argue that AirLand Battle is above all a mobile, offensive strike force posture being worked up in Europe to prepare NATO for intervention in Third World countries.

But not everybody who agrees with this analysis favors leaving NATO. In a well-received speech to the Cologne conference, the chairman of the important Protestant organization Action Reconciliation Peace Service (ASF), Vokmar Deile, said that NATO membership "is only a part of the problem." Deile stressed that "demilitarization is a process" that can be advanced by countries within their respective alliances.

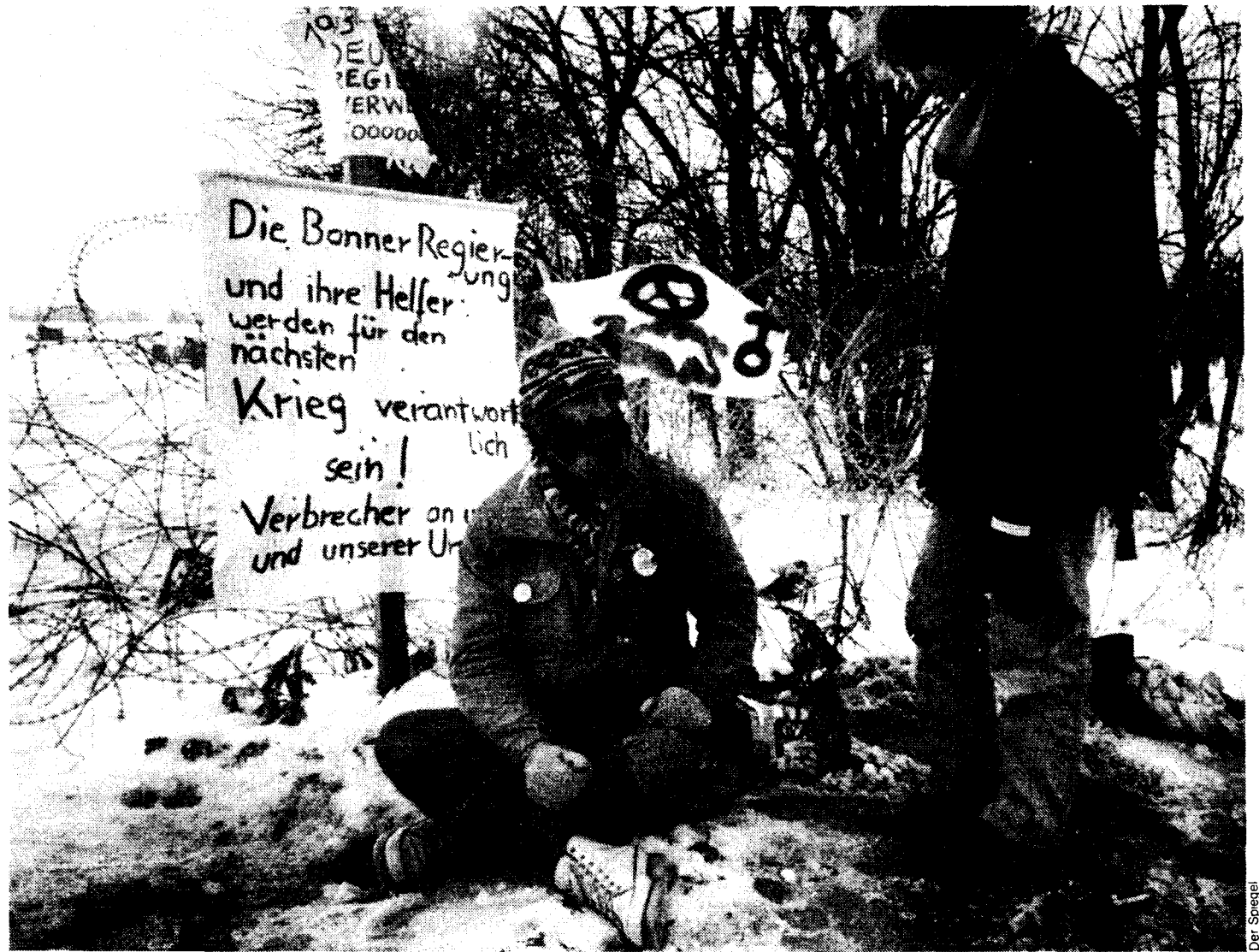
Deile said a successful strategy must be built on understanding why the peace movement failed to achieve its goal of stopping missile deployment in 1983. He noted that deployment of the first American Pershing II missiles at the end of last year had been followed in January by Soviet deployment of new intermediate range SS-20 missiles in East Germany and Czechoslovakia. It is now generally recognized that "balance" is the motor of the arms race, and Europeanization of the freeze idea must be one-sided and give up "balance," the ASF leader said.

A long-range strategy must include working for nuclear-free zones and military disengagement of the superpowers, opposition to intervention in the Third World and development of "solely defensive defense" that removes the constant threat involved in "deterrence," he said. (The German word for deterrence, *auschreckung*, "scaring off," makes this threat more explicit.)

Deile pointed to some of the movement's achievements. A "peace lobby has arisen against the arms lobby," he noted. This can be seen in current opposition to sale of arms to Saudi Arabia. Major institutions, notably the churches and the trade unions, had been "influenced from below," he said, adding that "we must prevent them from returning to the status quo." He warned that conservatives were already mounting a counterattack in the churches.

"E.P. Thompson has called deployment the 'point of no return,'" said Deile. "I hope he is wrong, and we must act as if he were wrong." The opposition

German peace movement deliberates its next moves



An anti-nuclear protestor conducts a winter vigil outside the Pershing missile base in Mutlangen.

to missiles must be put into a broader context, he stressed. Christian peace groups had recently decided to give priority to a campaign against arms exports to the Third World, he reported.

Rudolf Hartung, long-time secretary of the Young Socialists (Jusos) and a leading Social Democratic Party (SPD) apparachik, was like a fish in water at the Cologne conference. This appears to be the honeymoon between the peace movement and the SPD. Hartung called for the peace network to support labor's struggle for the 35-hour work week. He echoed Deile's call for nuclear-free zones, in particular for the "Palme corridor" (so-called because it was recommended by the International Commission headed by Olof Palme) on both sides of the East-West German border.

The "Rogers Plan."

But a battle is brewing within the SPD over the so-called "Rogers Plan," NATO commander General Bernard Rogers' recommendation that NATO build up its conventional arsenal with new electronic weapons. The SPD leadership seems ready to accept such a buildup as the price for getting nuclear weapons out of Germany. But many Social Democrats, notably retired General Christian Krause, consider such a buildup unnecessary,

since the existing conventional balance is more favorable to NATO than people realize. The "Rogers Plan" could be an indirect way of giving West Germany a bigger role in the Third World arms race, as materiel developed for NATO is sold to countries like Saudi Arabia. The peace movement rejects the "Rogers Plan" as merely a sales pitch for the shift to the AirLand Battle offensive posture. The issue is sure to come up at the SPD congress in May.

Meanwhile, the Third World groups are warning that the SPD, supported by the parts of the movement close to the German Communist Party (DKP), might "succeed in degrading the peace movement into simple support troops to a particular faction within NATO." The DKP opposes withdrawal from NATO.

The enemy brothers SPD and DKP seemed all the more influential in that the Green Party was in no condition to make any coherent proposals. Although the Greens have gone into the Hesse state government as junior partner to the SPD, elsewhere the party is floundering.

It is not yet clear why Gen. Gert Bastian withdrew from the Green parliamentary caucus (while retaining his Bundestag seat) nor what it means for the Greens' future. Petra Kelly, no more amenable than the general to anything

resembling party discipline, was widely expected to follow him eventually, although she expressed no such intention. The Greens have visibly failed so far to fit their conceptions of grassroots democracy into the parliamentary mold. The Baden-Württemberg grassroots recently demonstrated incompetence by forgetting to nominate candidates for three state legislative districts, thus inadvertently retiring one of their first elected representatives.

In Cologne, Roland Vogt, who has replaced Gen. Bastian as Green member of the Bundestag defense committee, said the peace movement must make a rigorous intellectual effort to develop an alternative defense policy. He called the SPD "security partnership" a "dangerous concept" that might be turned against the Third World.

Greens are largely interested in promoting a "bloc-free" peace movement (with emphasis on "independent peace movements" in Eastern Europe). But this idea cannot be developed very far at a conference with large contingents from the SPD and the DKP, both of which, for their own reasons, do not call for immediate dismantling of NATO and the Warsaw Pact.

Movement in decline?

As for action proposals, none seemed able to mobilize the movement as a whole. The "People's Referendum," championed by coordination committee chairman Jo Leinen, looked like a winning idea at the height of the big demonstrations last fall, when it seemed reasonable to try to register the anti-missile majority the movement felt was there. A lot of wind has since gone out of its sails. The movement has not the means to organize a real referendum, nor is it sure what sort of majority is really there.

The result could be less impressive than the Krefeld Appeal (the anti-missile petition that got more than five million signatures in the three years before deployment) or various public opinion polls.

Continued on page 7

The Green Party, which looked so promising last year, has failed so far to fit its conceptions of grassroots democracy into a parliamentary mold.

IN SHORT

Working on the railroad

The better the people at Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS) do their job, the more they may come to regret it. The February 18 arrest of a nun and a social worker for "illegally transporting" three Salvadorans has caused an uproar all along the 20th century Underground Railroad—the network of U.S. churches that harbor undocumented refugees. Sanctuary churches now fear the INS may be waging a nationwide witchhunt because the nun and social worker were slapped with an additional charge of "conspiracy to transport" aliens. A representative of the 99 sanctuary congregations and refugee communities said they plan to start up "an aggressive campaign against the INS." Their sentiments reportedly echo those of the arrested social worker, Stacy Lynn Merkt: "I'm not guilty. It's the U.S. government that's guilty because it doesn't follow its own principles and give political asylum to those who need it." The Salvadorans were fleeing their country for a reason Merkt could easily sympathize with: they were on a "hit list" because of their work with refugees in their country.

And when the INS bumbles, it bumbles bad. A recent border patrol swoop in Santa Ana, Calif., netted several suspected illegal aliens—and one bona fide U.S. citizen, Mario Moreno. All were deported to Tijuana, Mexico, where 14-year-old Mario pleaded his case with the INS and finally spent six days hiking back to his California home.

Be prepared

When last we left you with news of the Santa Cruz City Council (*In These Times*, Jan. 11), progressive control of city hall was hanging on the 145 votes that newcomer Jane Weed won by—disputed votes, at that. The Citizens Against Voter Fraud, an ad hoc group with ties to the conservative All Santa Cruz opposition, did its homework before the election and tracked down evidence of 472 illegally registered voters on the University of California campus, reports Bob Johnson. Since the campus went nine to one for the left, the opposition could reap the rewards of its dogged campaign to displace the progressives. It may take weeks, though, for the Superior Court judge to decide if the votes in question should be disqualified because the students failed to register at their present address.

Coup for a day

Another coup for the Sandinistas. Two days before U.S. voters go to the polls in November, Nicaragua will test its own brand of "democracy in action": just what Ronald Reagan ordered. The Sandinistas announced the three-month move-up of elections at a rally last week in Managua honoring Augusto Sandino on the 50th anniversary of his death. Ed Laing reports that they also set the ground rules for the election: the voting age is now 16, in recognition of the maturity of the youth of the country, many who fought in the revolution; the Sandinistas will see to it that the media follows equal time rules; the voters will have proportional representation; and all political parties will be equally funded by the government. After months of studying the U.S. electoral system, the Sandinistas obviously decided not to follow the North American model *too* closely.

Taking the plunge

In the last chapter of the National Hospital and Health Care Employees (1199) saga, the union was threatened with dissolution by their parent union, the Retail, Wholesale and Department Store Union (RWDSU) and was also pleading with the AFL-CIO Executive Council to protect their autonomy or grant them a new charter (*In These Times*, Feb. 22).

At last week's Bal Harbour Council meeting, 1199's request for a charter was denied, as well as the suggestion that a committee be formed to tackle the problems facing the cliff-hanging union, David Moberg reports. Consequently, 1199 President Henry Nicholas announced that the hospital union—one of the country's most dynamic and fastest growing—will leave the AFL-CIO and become an independent union. But the story won't end there: watch these pages for further news of lawsuits, election challenges and bids by other unions to link arms with 1199.

Bag it

The T-shirt read "Born to Shop" and had a picture of two bag ladies on it. Last month three hawk-eyed Catholic Workers spotted the shirt in a Minneapolis store and recognized the "anonymous" ladies as street people who had lived with them in a New York Worker house. So they began a mini-campaign to get the shirts off the market. Within a week of the first irate calls, Altered Images stopped production and promise refunds to all stores carrying the shirts. But a spokesman for the young California company was unperturbed: "Some Catholic women's group didn't like it, so we pulled them. No big deal—we have plenty of other shirts where those came from."

—Beth Maschinot



Brazilians hit the streets for a direct voice

In the largest public demonstration since the military took power in 1964, more than 300,000 people gathered last month in Sao Paulo, Brazil, to press for direct presidential elections and an end to authoritarian rule. The massive turnout was the first big step in the multi-party campaign to demand a constitutional amendment allowing Brazil's 56 million voters to choose their president next January. If the mobilization fails, President Gen. Joao Figueiredo's successor will be chosen by a 627-member electoral college, carefully gerrymandered to give the government's Social Democratic Party (PDS) an absolute majority.

The public pressure for direct elections and the government's efforts to maintain control of the presidential succession make 1984 an especially important and contentious year for Brazilian politics. At stake is the survival of the second-most long lived authoritarian regime in South America, at a time when its internal opposition is stronger and more threatening than ever.

Even though a recent Gallup poll showed that 90 percent of Brazilians favor direct elections, the opposition faces an uphill struggle. Figueiredo's program of *abertura* (opening) has reestablished many civil liberties and even permitted direct elections for governor. Nonetheless, the federal authorities do not show signs of allowing *abertura's* reforms to interfere with the actual exercise of power. In his 1983 year-end address, Figueiredo characterized the campaign for direct elections as "merely provocative" and staunchly supported indirect elections.

The key institution in such elections, the electoral college, is a showpiece of *abertura*: it preserves the form of democracy while denying the substance. The government party, winner of 17 million of the 48 million votes cast in the most recent elections, has an absolute majority in the college. And, in order for Congress to pass a constitutional amendment establishing direct elections, the opposition must overcome a 45-24 government (PDS) party majority in the Senate—a majority created by Figueiredo's predecessor who changed the constitution to allow the PDS to name 23 senators.

Nevertheless, the opposition

remains hopeful, aiming to mobilize the popular dissatisfaction brought on by what is becoming the worst economic crisis in Brazilian history. Per capita GNP fell 6 percent in 1983. In Sao Paulo, 22.5 percent of those working at the end of 1980 had lost their jobs by the end of 1983, and declarations of "insolvency," the final step before declaring bankruptcy, were up 171 percent from last year. Inflation was a record 211 percent while wages rose 150 percent; the national debt of \$90 billion continues to grow; and in the last three years the production of capital goods fell 44 percent. Hunger is widespread. According to the Food and Agricultural Organization of the United Nations, only 48 percent of Brazilians have an adequate daily consumption of calories.

Faced with this crisis, the regime's bases of support are crumbling. In a recent survey of business leaders, 63 percent rated Figueiredo's job performance unsatisfactory or poor; the middle classes, beneficiaries of the economic boom of the late '60s and early '70s have lost a third of their purchasing power in the last four years.

The military itself is divided: some commanders want to retain control even though they have no majority support; others view direct elections as the most graceful way to return to the barracks

"Lula" da Silva, president of the Workers Party in Brazil, makes the case for direct elections.

and end their formal participation in politics.

Even the government party, favoring indirect elections, is showing signs of coming apart. A dissident group has formed, supporting direct elections, arguing that to do otherwise is to commit collective electoral suicide. The presidential succession, formerly decided out of the public eye and ratified by a united party, is turning into a free-for-all. Interior Minister Mario Andreazza (Figueiredo's favorite) is vying with Paulo Maluf, former governor of Sao Paulo and a free-spending maverick politician, for the government party's nomination.

Although the opposition is determined to fight for direct elections, the government is equally steadfast in its defense of the status quo. The president's spokesman said that the people's presence in the streets of Sao Paulo was of "no consequence" in the presidential succession. A middle-aged man, part of the rain-soaked crowd of 300,000, carried a hand-lettered sign reading "Unemployed for two years. The vote is mine, Now!" The coming months will tell which of these two sides has the political power to speak for 130 million Brazilians.

—Clarke Bruno

300,000 people stormed the streets in Sao Paulo last month to pressure Figueiredo to open up the election process.



LEBANON

Gemayel trips over Israeli withdrawal

By Dilip Hiro

L O N D O N

"GEMAYEL MUST GO." That is now the demand not only of Walid Jumblatt and Nabih Berri but also President Hafez Assad of Syria. Lebanese President Amin Gemayel sealed his fate on February 3, when he ordered the army to flatten the Shi'ite suburbs of south Beirut. The action shocked and angered Nabih Berri, the leader of Al Amel (the Hope), the Shi'ite militia. "Would Americans vote for Reagan if he ordered the bombing of New York?" he asked.

Berri's anger was shared by, among others, Shefiq al Wazzan, the Sunni prime minister. He resigned, and the government fell. The Lebanese army broke up into Muslim and Christian factions, with Muslims defecting in droves. It took the Amel, aided by Druze militia in the Shuf mountains, a mere 17 hours to seize the Muslim West Beirut.

Since then, military initiative has rested with Muslim militias, backed by Syria and Libya. Nadim Hakim, the former Druze chief of staff of the Lebanese military, is reorganizing the Muslim soldiers of the Lebanese army into a new fighting force.

It seems only a matter of time before Druze militiamen, operating from the Shuf, will overrun the (Christian) Lebanese army garrison at Souk al Gharb and the defense ministry will remove the "Shah of Babda" from office.

Lebanese history has a boring habit of repeating itself. In late 12th century, in the Gharb hinterland of Beirut, Druze led by the Buhtur family and backed by Damascus successfully resisted the invading Crusaders. The Muslim ruler of Damascus made the Buhturs the feudal lords of the Gharb/Shuf region. By the time the last Crusader was expelled from Greater Syria in 1291, the Buhturs were cavalry officers and administrators of the Mameluke rulers of Greater Syria and Egypt. To update the account, just insert Jumblatt for Buhturs, and the Phalangists for the Crusaders.

None of the many convulsions that were to rock the region after 1291 affected the Druze monopoly over the Shuf—

due to the internecine fighting) became the dramatic expression of the growing discontent among Lebanese Muslims.

Muslim communities were angered by the way south Lebanon (with Shi'ite majority) had been sealed off from the rest of the country by the Israeli army. They were shocked by the terms of the Lebanese-Israeli May 17, 1983, Accord. Some of them infringed Lebanese sovereignty. The accords gave unqualified overflight rights to Israel. It allowed Israel to maintain its own early warning stations and conduct joint patrols inside Lebanon. It provided for an Israeli "liaison office" in Beirut to oversee "normalization of relations" with Lebanon—open borders, trade and tourism.

Most Muslim leaders concluded that the U.S. and Israel had colluded to mount an Israeli invasion of Lebanon to end Syria's historic influence in Lebanon (on their side) and to turn their country into a client state of the U.S.-Israeli axis.

They resolved to resist the May Accord, aware that demographic facts favored them. Today Lebanon is a Muslim majority country, where Muslim communities are both politically conscious and armed. But they have to function in a political set-up where power is shared according to the 1943 National Pact, based on the 1932 census, when Christians were 54 percent of the population. Hence, the six-to-five formula for Christians and Muslims in all state institutions—with presidency going to a Maronite Christian, premiership to a Sunni Muslim, parliament's chairmanship to a Shi'ite Muslim and deputy-chairmanship to a Greek Orthodox Christian.

Muslims are now 57 percent of the population, a fact reflected in the composition of the Lebanese army, built up on conscription, before its recent break-up. In 1932 Shi'ites were only 12 percent of the population; now the figure is 30 percent. At 1.1 million (out of the total population of 3.6 million), they are the largest community, well ahead of the 900,000 Maronites.

Steady migration from villages to cities has transformed Shi'ite peasants into urban proletarians. In the '70s they were radicalized by the presence of the Palestine Liberation Organization in Beirut and Sidon, and the orations of Imam Mousa Sadr, a militant cleric. After his mysterious death in 1978, Shi'ite leadership passed to Nabih Berri, a mild-mannered 48-year-old, U.S.-trained lawyer.

Berri is a constitutionalist who took a long time before challenging Gemayel with arms. He stayed out of the Damascus-inspired National Salvation Front—an opposition alliance of Walid Jumblatt, Reshid Karamah, a senior Sunni leader from Tripoli, and Suleiman Frankjeh, a former president and a pro-Syrian Maronite leader. He wanted to keep himself free to join the Gemayel administration.

On four separate occasions between last October and December, Gemayel, prodded by the two Shi'ite ministers in the cabinet, promised to invite Berri to join the government. But he never did.

Gemayel and his colleagues in the Phalange regard Berri as a dangerous radical. Given the party's history and the social background of its leaders, this is not surprising. Formed in 1936 by Pierre Gemayel (father of Amin) after his visit to the Berlin Olympics, the Phalange was modelled on the Nazi Youth Movement. It was one of the fascist parties that grew in the '30s in the Mediterranean countries, including the Phalange Party of Spain, led by General Franco.

Since its founding, the Lebanese Phalange has been funded and led by Maronite financial and commercial oligarchs, who are linked with international finance. It was characteristic of someone like Amin Gemayel to say that if he went,

Lebanon would be run by a Revolutionary Council guided by Moscow.

Not surprisingly, Gemayel hates Walid Jumblatt, the 35-year-old leader of the Progressive Socialist Party (PSP), and Jumblatt reciprocates the feeling. The PSP was founded by his father, Kamal, a Marxist, who was assassinated in 1977. As interior minister in 1970, Kamal Jumblatt lifted the 22-year-old ban on the Lebanese Communist Party.

More than being a party leader, Walid Jumblatt is the head of the leading clan of Druze, who form 7 percent of the Lebanese population. Living in a compact and strategic area of the country gives the Druze disproportionate importance. Unquestioning loyalty to Jumblatt, combined with belief in reincarnation, makes Druze militiamen fierce fighters. In this, they are rivaled only by militant Shi'ites, who believe in religious martyrdom. It is not surprising then that their alliance has

iation to be held in Geneva after a ceasefire. At the first round of talks in Geneva in November, the anti-government leaders and Syria compromised. Instead of pressing Gemayel to abrogate the May 17 Accord, they gave him a mandate to secure Israeli withdrawal by alternative means. Gemayel agreed. But on his arrival in Washington on December 1, he said that he stood by the Accord, which infuriated Assad and others.

Gemayel's acceptance of the Saudi eight-point peace plan, which included abrogating the May Accord, did not impress Assad. It was a package deal to be accepted or rejected. Assad rejected it. For, like the Accord, it equated the Israeli occupation of Lebanon, resulting from an invasion, to the earlier presence of Syrian troops in Lebanon—invited there by the then-Lebanese government as part of an Arab League peacekeeping force.

Lebanese President Amin Gemayel is under attack from all sides.



The Syrian government wants an unconditional withdrawal of all Israeli forces from Lebanon.

until the Israeli invasion of Lebanon in June 1982. Riding on the coattails of Israeli occupiers, the Phalangists set up garrisons in the Shuf—an action that drew much blood.

The Phalange move was part of a design to transform Lebanon into a one-party state. Breaking with the "No Victor, No Vanquished" tradition of Lebanese politics, Gemayel extended his party's power over not only the administrative apparatus but also trade unions, professional syndicates and universities. The change was all the more dramatic because his predecessor, Elias Sarkis, a pro-Syrian technocrat, had no party affiliations.

It's no wonder the Druze battle of last September to expel the Phalangists from the Shuf after the Israeli withdrawal from there (caused by rising Israeli casualties

proved lethal for the Gemayel government.

In comparison, the Sunni militia, the Murabatoun, the smallest of the Muslim organizations, has performed poorly. Closely tied to the PLO, the Murabatoun virtually disintegrated when the PLO was expelled from Beirut in September 1982.

Historically, the Sunnis have had good relations with Greek Orthodox, the second largest Christian community. By and large the Greek Orthodox are centrist or leftist, with only a minority backing the Phalange. The same is true of the Armenian Orthodox. That is why Jumblatt has raised the possibility of a new Christian president who is not a Maronite.

For the time being, this must remain only an idea to be considered at the second round of talks on national reconcil-

Syria wants an unconditional withdrawal of Israeli forces from Lebanon. After that, Christian and Muslim communities must adopt a new power-sharing scheme to reflect current realities. Only then will a reconstituted government in Beirut have the legal and moral authority to ask Damascus to remove its troops. If it does so, the Syrian government will comply.

Thus, Damascus agrees with the Lebanese opposition that political reform must precede Syrian troop withdrawal. The Phalange, on the other hand, wants to see all foreign forces leave before there is reform. But currently the dispute is being settled by force of arms, with the opposition gaining the upper hand.

Dilip Hiro is the author of Inside the Middle East, published by McGraw-Hill.

POLITICS



A billboard in Chicago plugs Louis Farrakhan's Saviour's Day.

Black Muslims join Jackson's coalition

By Salim Muwakkil

CHICAGO

THESE PEOPLE REPRESENT a revolutionary new sense of unity between the spiritual descendants of Martin Luther King and those of Malcolm X," said one observer last week as he surveyed the crowd of about 1,000 that had gathered at City Hall here. They had come to watch presidential candidate Jesse Jackson accompany Louis Farrakhan to the third floor, where the Black Muslim minister would register to vote for the first time in his 50 years. Farrakhan, a Chicagoan since 1975, is leader of the Nation of Islam (NOI), a group that formerly shunned electoral politics.

But that was before Jackson. Now Farrakhan is in the forefront of black Chicago's voter registration campaign, and his well-publicized change of heart is intended to encourage his followers—as many as 100,000 nationwide—to follow suit.

There's more to Farrakhan's registration than numbers. For Farrakhan, it's a step back into the public view. For Jackson, it's an endorsement far more important than the numbers of NOI's members suggest. And for everyone else, it's a chance to see some of the complexities—the ironies, some would say—underlying the campaign being waged by Jackson.

The Honorable Elijah Muhammad (a.k.a. the Messenger of Allah), the NOI patriarch who died in 1975, counseled his flock to eschew electoral politics because they were dominated by a race of devils—that is, white people. But he made one exception: in *Message to the Blackman*, the definitive book on Black Muslim dogma, Muhammad wrote, "There are many black men and women who make splendid politicians.... If our politicians are to serve us, they must have no fear of the white man when they plead our case...." When they come along, Muhammad said, "we must give good black politicians the total backing of our popula-

tion." Farrakhan, who boasts unwavering adherence to the dogma of his late leader, apparently believes Jesse Jackson is a good politician.

Who is Louis Farrakhan? When he first met Elijah Muhammad, in the early '50s, Farrakhan was a college-educated calypso singer from the Caribbean. He says he was instantly converted. As Louis X Wolcott, he rose rapidly through the ranks, gaining considerable in-house fame for writing, directing and starring in *Organa* and *The Trial*, two message-laden plays performed in Black Muslim mosques around the country. Farrakhan also wrote and recorded a song—"A White Man's Heaven Is a Black Man's Hell"—that became a monster hit in black nationalist circles. (He's since updated the song in accord with contemporary music standards and the NOI has it on sale.) When Malcolm X was assigned to Mosque No. 11 in Boston, Farrakhan was his assistant. Malcolm grew to trust him and when the Messenger moved Malcolm to the prestigious New York post at Mosque No. 7, Farrakhan was given Malcolm's old Boston job. Elijah excommunicated Malcolm in 1963 and Farrakhan was instrumental in helping to quell the internal dissent the action provoked.

After Malcolm was assassinated in 1965 by members of the NOI's Newark mosque, Farrakhan was appointed minister of the New York mosque and soon became Muhammad's national representative, as Malcolm had been before him. His position in the limelight was the perfect showcase for his oratorical skills. Employing his college-trained tongue, his melodious voice, his flair for the theatrical and a nimble, disciplined mind, Farrakhan developed an extremely polished presentation. All of that, combined with his light-skinned good looks and the tenor of the times, produced a genuine black nationalist star.

In the late '60s and early '70s, his voice was almost omnipresent in the New York City metropolitan area. His Sunday mosque sermons were broadcast live over the city's largest black-oriented radio station.

His name would pop up as keynote speaker at just about every black-oriented event in the New York area. Black Muslim rallies featuring Farrakhan drew crowds in the tens of thousands. One incident graphically illustrated the esteem in which the NOI was held by the black community of New York. Police, summoned by what later proved an erroneous report, invaded Farrakhan's mosque in Harlem and one cop was killed, shot by his own gun. The mostly white cops who responded to their colleagues' distress signals began making menacing moves toward the mosque as if they were going to retaliate. Word spread throughout the neighborhood that the Muslims were being attacked by police and folks began pouring into the streets to protect the mosque and its occupants. Thousands of Harlem residents surrounded the mosque and refused to obey repeated police demands to disperse.

Farrakhan has lived in Chicago's Beverly since he moved here from New Rochelle, N.Y., in 1975 to serve as an assistant to W.D. Muhammad, who assumed power after his father's death and whom Farrakhan initially vowed to support. In November 1977, he announced his split with W.D., explaining he could no longer support the younger Muhammad's interpretation of his father's teachings. Some charged that Farrakhan merely felt stifled by W.D. Muhammad's de-emphasis of personality worship and that, having once been the star of the show, he grew increasingly envious of W.D.'s stature.

Since 1977, Farrakhan has been traveling around the country spreading the message that the NOI is back. His split with the American Muslim Mission is probably irreconcilable (their differences run deep), but so far both sides have kept the friction at a relatively low level. There have been times when things heated up.

Last year Farrakhan called W.D. "the Hypocrite" (a high curse in the Islamic world). This year, W.D.'s followers are ridiculing Farrakhan's entrance into electoral politics as just another grab for national stardom.

In 1982 the NOI purchased and renovated an old funeral home on 79th street and named it the Final Call Building—after the official NOI newspaper, which in turn is named after the first newspaper the Messenger ever published. It seems fair to say that Farrakhan's star is once again rising. He's asked to speak at functions as varied as the NAACP's Freedom Fund dinner, the Jack the Rapper's convention (a music industry gathering), Rikers Island (a New York jail) and the National Bar Association convention.

His mark has yet to be made in Chicago. But that may soon change. His followers will vigorously assist the Jackson campaign and he will make several public appearances on Jackson's behalf. Also, his Saviour's Day convention (held February 24-26) featured dozens of prominent blacks who, taking the lead from Jesse, embraced the Farrakhanites.

Farrakhan's face will soon be familiar to black Chicagoans, and tales of his oratorical gifts are already at large. He is often described as black America's most dynamic speaker. But he has long been dogged by the same criticism that perennially is made of Jackson: he is all talk and no organizational action. All in all, though, he and Jackson are arguably the two most charismatic black Americans.

Farrakhan's endorsement is an important one for Jackson. Farrakhan is the heir of Malcolm X—and the nationalist strain of black politics—in almost exactly the same way Jackson is the heir of Martin Luther King and the civil rights strain. Their working together has tremendous symbolic value. Jackson needs a crusade, and the best way to start one is to heal the rifts between the nationalists and the civil righters. Moreover, the Black Muslims have the reputation of being tough, cynical and hard to fool.

Their approval puts the seal of black righteousness on a campaign that's been marked from the start by reluctance and hesitation on the part of mainstream black leadership. And the NOI, with its message of black superiority and black

Continued on facing page

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self-help, is particularly influential among disenfranchised urban blacks—the black underclass—who would be least likely to participate in the election otherwise, even though they are a group Jackson is vitally interested in.

But the underclass vote is a tricky proposition for Jackson. Already the public—and even Harold Washington—has jumped on Jackson for this segment of his support. It's fine for Jackson to reach out to the poor, but God help him if he's soft on gangs. The NOI, of course, has a considerable appeal for some of the gangs and quasi gangs.

NOI's traditional beliefs pose additional problems for Jackson. Not least among them is this: how can the "rainbow coalition" openly embrace the support of people who believe that one of the colors in the spectrum represents evil incarnate? But that's just the beginning. Come the Democratic convention, Jackson isn't likely to find himself the presidential nominee. He'll then be bargaining with other candidates, trying to win concessions for his constituents in return for their votes. That's not likely to appeal to Farrakhan and his supporters, who are less interested in issues than candidates—and the race of candidates. The question is whether Democratic leadership will perceive Jackson's support as undercut because of Muslim participation.

The Farrakhanites presumably like Jackson because his approach to black problems matches well with their own. At heart, Jackson believes in black responsibility and black self-help. He isn't a conventional liberal. He's running as a relatively conventional liberal, however, and when he sits down to deal with the party, he's likely to be bargaining for conventional liberal payoffs—job programs, aid to schools and the like. That won't sit well with the NOI, whose position on contemporary issues (anti-welfare, anti-abortion, anti-Darwin, pro-nuclear family, anti-homosexual, pro-strict discipline in school, anti-forced integration, pro-entrepreneurship, etc.) is more in line with the Republican platform of 1980 than it is with any Democrat's program—including Jackson's.

But that question wasn't raised when the followers of Elijah's dictums descended on City Hall to publicize their entry into the political arena. Joining the folks from the NOI were a host of Jackson's political supporters, members of Operation PUSH and a group from several Islamic-oriented street "organizations."

As Jackson and Farrakhan maneuvered through the crowd, there was a sudden influx of sullen-faced men with dancing eyes. In addition to Jackson's Secret Service entourage, there was Farrakhan's Fruit of Islam and the security team from the El Rukn gang. They created a lane through the crowd and the two stars were whisked toward a closed office where Farrakhan presumably registered. After about 10 minutes, the two emerged and made a few grand statements to the press.

"Legislators, high school students, college students, the El Rukns, the Islamic Lords, a broad cross section of people have come together to overcome the brokenness and the fracture that has kept us apart this long," said Jackson.

Farrakhan said, "Elijah Muhammad, the founder of the Nation of Islam, found it very difficult to advise his followers to take part in the political process because of the corruption in politics. But he said that if a black candidate stood up...and would plead the case of the oppressed, then he deserved the full support of the entire people. We have a man I believe will not sell out the poor."

"The tinderbox of violence is in every urban ghetto in America," he added. "I would rather see black people register to vote and march to the polls and unseat those candidates who are undeserving of political power.... We have no choice between violence and voting. I would rather see us vote."

The pair left the third floor, pausing for more statements on their way out. As the large crowd assembled on the steps and in the lobby of the hall's northwest entrance, Jackson took a swipe at Rea-

gan's brutal shelling of West Beirut, then tried to interest the crowd in singing "We Shall Overcome" before they left. The nationalists may have broken tradition and registered to vote, but it was another thing altogether to get them to sing a song they've long derided as a "slave melody." Jackson soon abandoned the effort. ■

Salim Muwakkil is a Chicago freelance writer.

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Europe

Continued from page 3

Andreas Zumach of ASF warned that the results could be demoralizing. But the referendum was defended by the SPD and by the DKP, groups that like to keep their militants busy with respectable mobilizations. Still, only a slim majority of the Cologne conference approved organizing the "People's Referendum" to coincide with the June 17 European parliamentary elections.

At the conference, an "independent spectrum" (with anarchist leanings) naturally preferred direct action, such as the proposed non-violent hindering of NATO maneuvers in Fulda Gap on the East German border in the fall. Independents and Greens support a campaign to extend conscientious objection to rejection of all war preparations. The movement was scarcely united, but the disintegration was relatively harmonious.

An element in this harmony is unanimous acceptance of non-violence. A resolution to "condemn violence and terrorism" was almost unanimously rejected after a speaker said it would be "absolutely absurd" for the movement to lend credence to the slanderous notion that it contains terrorist tendencies.

Beyond its "minimal consensus," the movement postponed several thorny questions for further discussion and possible decision at its next meeting in early May. One of these was the "appraisal" of the "countermeasures" taken by the Soviet Union after deployment of NATO Pershing II and Cruise missiles, the SS-20 missiles stationed in East Germany and Czechoslovakia, whose range covers Greenham Common Cruise base in England (but not Comiso in Sicily). The DKP was, as usual, defensive of the Eastern bloc, but agreed readily that the "countermeasures" should be withdrawn whenever the Pershing II and Cruise missiles are removed.

The only clash came over a proposed resolution in support of independent peace activists arrested in East Germany. But even here the DKP was more conciliatory than it has been in the past, accepting a compromise resolution of solidarity with all activists, East or West, arrested for peace actions.

Still, the disproportionate presence of the DKP (estimates ranged upward of a third) is felt by many as a heavy weight that could drive spritlier groups away from such conferences. Perhaps Volkmar

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Deile had this in mind when he said that the "radical action groups are the salt in the soup of the peace movement," and he did not want them to go off and dry up.

While the peace movement was meeting in Cologne, Defense Minister Manfred Worner (called a key architect of the Rogers Plan by the U.S. *Armed Forces Journal*) was host to a high level conference on "challenges to the alliance" in Munich. Worner said West Germans had no reason to fear war and called for more spending on conventional weapons. This was the main message sent by Vice President George Bush and read to the Munich conference by Texas Senator John Tower, reportedly in line to succeed Caspar Weinberger at the Pentagon. British deputy defense secretary Geoffrey Pattie called for greater support by all NATO countries to alliance member nations that undertake military commitments outside the NATO area. Such talk confirms the impression that, now that the missiles are in place, the East-West scare can be dropped and NATO can turn its main attention to the central business of arming to put down Third World revolts.

Worner has a lot of reassuring to do in his own armed services. It is widely rumored that the real reason for the early retirement and attempted disgrace of Bonn's ranking NATO officer, Gen. Gunter Kiessling, was not his alleged dallying in gay bars, but his opposition to Air-Land Battle and its non-nuclear component for European consumption, the Rogers Plan. ■

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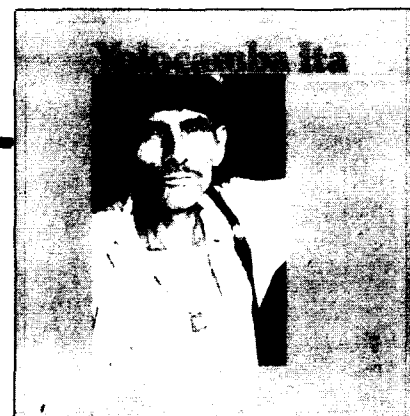
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By David Moberg

MANCHESTER, N.H.

IN THE CONVENTIONAL WISDOM, this was not supposed to be Jesse Jackson country. A state that is politically conservative and renowned for its inhabitants' phlegmatic personalities, a state with almost no blacks, New Hampshire seemed inhospitable to Jackson's civil rights history, his strongly liberal views and his fiery brand of evangelical political oratory.

But everywhere Jackson has gone in this state, a lapel pin of a rainbow with a little figure astride it on his three piece suit, the crowds have turned out and even been swept into a New England version of enthusiasm. Curiosity may have drawn some, but many come away moved, impressed, ready to vote for him or at least wavering in their old loyalties. A late January *Boston Globe* poll of New Hampshire voters and a mid-February national Gallup poll showed him nip and tuck with Sen. John Glenn for second place.

What may be strangest of all, many of the converts are not choosing between Jackson and McGovern or Jackson and Cranston, who are politically most similar. Often they are erstwhile supporters of Walter Mondale or even Glenn, people who had never been interested in politics before, disgruntled old-line Republicans or even soft-core supporters of Ronald Reagan. The appeal seems greatest to the better-educated or the young, less among blue-collar workers and moderate among the traditionally conservative poor who are numerous here despite the state's enviable 4.3 percent unemployment rate.

Jackson's peculiar appeal that goes beyond ideology draws on more than his powerful speaking style that typically builds from a low-key introduction through an alliterative, catchy recitation of what ails—and might heal—America to a feverish exhortation to hope and action. The link between his Baptist emotion and the cool Congregationalism of New England is an old Yankee-style faith in the power of the individual to achieve anything with enough effort, if the barriers to equal participation in society are removed.

Jackson, oddly like his nemesis Reagan, harnesses to his campaign old hopes about America's ability to do great things. It also invokes a hope that America can care for "the least of these" at home—"the young in the dawn of life, the old in the sunset of life, the poor in the pit of life"—while it defends one standard of human rights throughout a more peaceable world. There America wins influence by friendly competition, cooperation and inspiring example, not by military force and threat.

Much of his campaign speeches, especially for younger audiences, are invocations of traditional values, both personal and social, that attempt to transcend politics even though they are obviously rooted in a critique of Reagan (who is infrequently mentioned by name). Jackson becomes the latest outsider or non-political politician. Like Reagan, but from the left, Jackson also appears to be a man of firm convictions who is willing to act decisively. And there is no question about his skill at capturing the TV eye.

Jackson's talent for inspiration breaks through the jaded despair of many voters, but they are excited not simply because they see him as a strong leader or as delivering their message to Reagan, Mondale or whoever will listen. He inspires them to a belief that they can make a difference, that they should be "empowered," even if that is no more than registering and voting as a first step. As usual, there seems to be inadequate organization to mobilize the momentary euphoria for the long haul. But even in New Hampshire, Jackson's campaign has boosted registration and spurred some of "the rejected stones" to become "the corner stones" of his projected Rainbow Coalition.

At a time when Richard Viguerie and

others on the far right are staking out a claim to "populism" (the real battle is the people versus the establishment, Viguerie says), Jackson represents another populist appeal that may yet find its army. Jackson blends a stern lesson of individual responsibility, hard work and restraint on hedonism with a social gospel. He calls on government to cut military spending, protect the environment, promote the less fortunate or excluded (blacks, Hispanics, women, Asian, youth and the handicapped are most often cited), enforce "corporate integrity" and social responsibility and settle international differences through negotiation, showing special attention to the ignored Third World majority.

"It's not enough to get a new president," Jackson told a Susan B. Anthony celebration in Claremont's opera house. "We need a new direction. To get off an elephant onto a donkey going the same direction a little slower is no improvement."

Clearly Jackson's candidacy has a special appeal for many blacks, and in New Hampshire some of the standard appeals to black progress were dropped. Women—or at times a new generation of youth—are more likely to symbolize the Rainbow Coalition. Attacks on acid rain and nuclear power (Jackson would phase out all nuclear plants) assume a special prominence along with the overriding general themes of peace and justice.

Push for excellence.

Yet at Contooscook Valley High School near Peterborough, Jackson delivered what sounded like a ghetto high school "push for excellence" inspirational talk. "There is nothing more damaging to the psyche than a sense of nobodiness," he told the 800 students and 300 people from the surrounding community before leading some of his classic responsive chants ("My mind/ is a pearl/ I can learn anything/ in the world") and a few new ones ("I can register/ I can vote/ I will/ make a difference").

But now, he warned, your "options—unemployment, no scholarships, kill or be killed—do not represent a bright future for a civilized nation.... America's strength is not in guided missiles but in developed minds." He added admonitions against drugs, alcohol, violence in school and casual sex. Jackson contrasted the star basketball player's disciplined practice and casual homework. "To make education in the U.S. better we need more than more money, more than a new president, more than a change from Republican to Democrat," he said. "Education is a matter of individual responsibility."

With a carefully calibrated set of appeals, he concluded the afternoon with what had become a standard routine—getting everyone 18 or over who had not yet registered to stand up, come to the front and give his or her name, presumably to be contacted later. Hundreds sheepishly lined up. Jackson berated registrars for not coming to schools and urged passage of postcard registration: "The politics should be in who we vote for, not in registration."

"It was on target," principal Ronald Pacy said later, including the remarks on drugs, alcohol and sex in this semi-rural, all-white high school. "A lot of people are excluded, and teenagers are among them. He told them they counted, they

can change things. This was our best pep rally since I've been here. The students didn't know who he was before he came, but they knew he was black. Some said maybe I should wear my white sheet or we should serve watermelon and chicken. But I saw some kids who were talking about the white sheet who were doing the chant and cheering and applauding at the end."

Jackson impresses more than the youngsters. David Cleverdon, a ruddy-faced retired businessman with a wispy white beard, was there as a Jackson campaign worker. Cleverdon has been a registered Republican and his only previous political involvement had been serving on a school board. "He has brought a new dimension to the primary campaign," he said. "He represents a person who can talk to the Third World and get results. Most of all, he makes us aware of society's responsibility to the disadvantaged, whether domestically or any place in the world. But it's linked with efficiency, rather than just throwing more money at social problems. You notice Jackson didn't say the solution to our lousy education system was more money, but he did say teachers had to be paid well."

Education is a recurring theme. "Schools at their worst are better than jails at their best," Jackson says. But every candidate, including conservative John Glenn, hitches on to this safe but salient issue. Jackson often skirts the ticklish questions of precise programs and their costs in his calls for attention to the elderly, the poor, the handicapped and others. Or program does not match rhetoric: he demands that health care be a right, for example, but rather than push for a national health care system, he supports the modest Kennedy-Gephardt health cost containment legislation. Yet he consistently argues that whatever the cost of nutritional programs for children or comparable worth salaries for women, it is cheaper and socially more desirable than the consequence in poorly educated, badly motivated, unhealthy or criminally inclined young people.

Jackson draws the sharpest line between himself and most of the other candidates on foreign policy, however. "The first step in foreign policy is to be able to count," Jackson told an overflow audience of more than 1,000 in Keene. "We are 6 percent of the world, 6 percent. Ninety-four percent of God's children are beyond us. Six percent consume 40 percent of the resources, but you cannot count us by our appetite. Most people in the world are black or brown or yellow or red, poor, non-Christian and don't speak English. Our foreign policy must count the people in the world and measure human rights by one yardstick, because human rights is the key to peace."

So Jackson advocates recognition of the revolutionary front in El Salvador as a legitimate force (a U.S. representative, Arnaldo Ramos, spoke briefly at several campaign stops) as well as Cuba's government. He also supports the Contadora initiative, favors withdrawal of U.S. troops from Honduras and an end to the CIA-financed war against Nicaragua. While traveling in New Hampshire, Jackson debated going to Nicaragua for the 50th anniversary of the Sandino uprising, but decided against it. (Some of the considerations apparently were staff objections to the interruption of the campaign as well as Jackson's desire to meet with a

broad range of religious leaders, opposition figures and leaders of neighboring countries when he does go.)

Russians are people, too.

Jackson hits U.S. Central American policy hard in virtually every speech. While not defending all aspects of Nicaragua's government or other revolutionary regimes, he urges his audience to be patient and understanding, reminding them it took more than a decade for the revolutionary U.S. colonies to hold elections and nearly 200 years for everyone to be assured of a right to vote. "We must be patient with other folks, because we have not become a perfect democracy ourselves," he told a packed Friday morning gathering at a 250-year-old Rochester church.

In the same vein, he repeatedly urges talks, trade and empathy with the Soviet Union. The most important image from Andropov's funeral, he said, was Mrs. Andropov crying. "Russian women cry when their husbands die," he said in Keene. "Russian children cry when their daddies die. They are people, too."

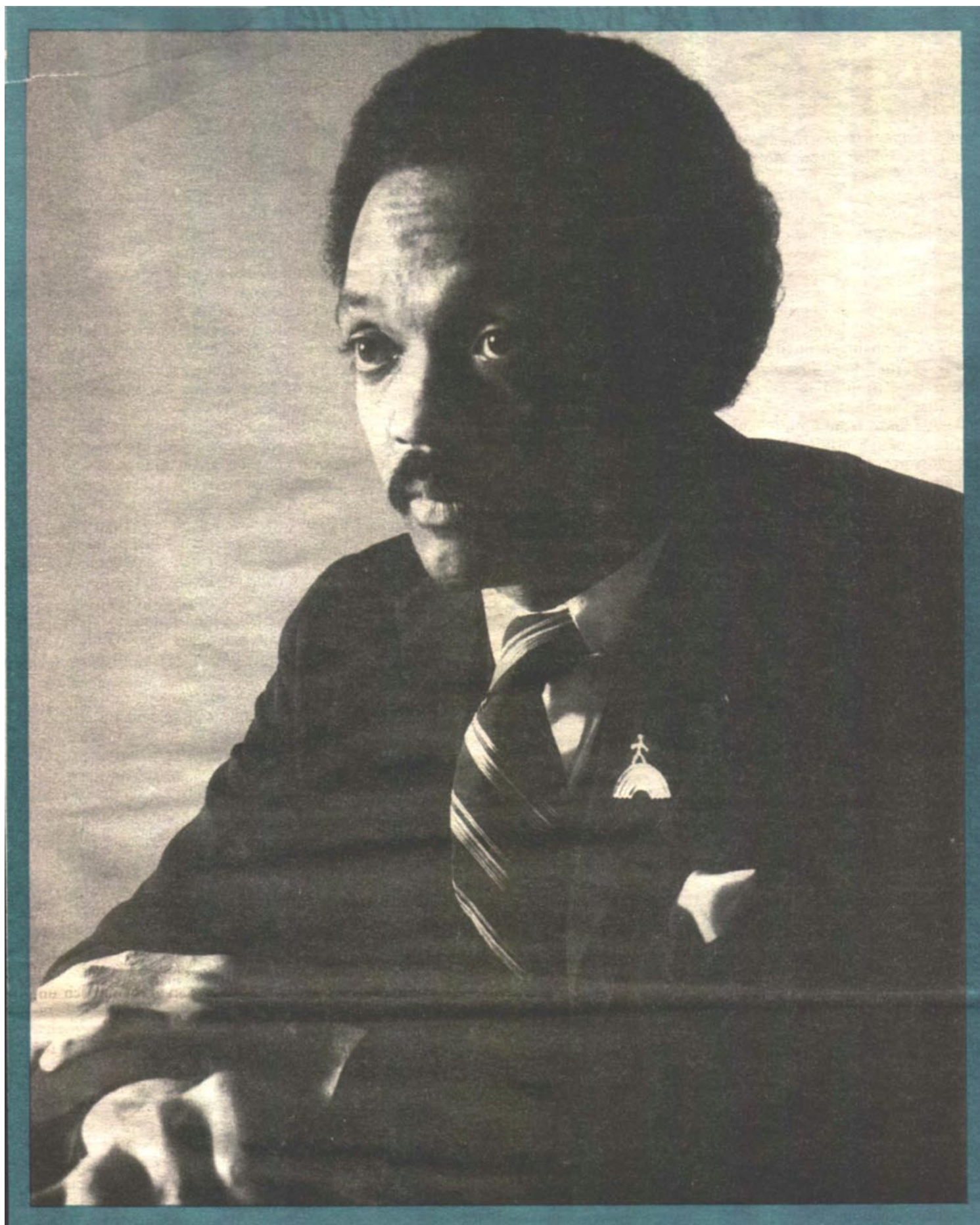
If Jackson has any general solution for international problems, it's talk. "If we do talk, we may fail," he says repeatedly. "If we do not talk, we are assured we will fail." That means talking with such unpopular groups as the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) or the Syrian government. Jackson rarely mentions the PLO, yet most reporting on his campaign focuses overwhelmingly on his relations with Arab nations. But both George McGovern and Jackson share similar views: the Palestinians and Israel deserve secure homelands in the Mideast and discussions must include the PLO.

At Keene for the first time Jackson called for a 20 percent cut in the military budget, thus joining McGovern as the only candidates favoring reduced arms spending. Like nearly all the others, he favors a bilateral nuclear freeze: "We must freeze the weapons or burn the people and freeze the planet." He would also support unilateral initiatives to declare the U.S. would not be the first to use nuclear weapons, to delay further deployment of Pershing and Cruise missiles in Europe for six months (an earlier draft of his talk called for withdrawing missiles already deployed), to suspend nuclear testing for six months (longer if the Russians reciprocate) and to cancel the MX program.

While riding with Jackson between campaign stops, I asked why he had not called for military cuts earlier. He responded with a revealing discourse on his role: "People are not looking for a statistician in a president. They are looking for a conduit through which they can convey their message. They're looking for a conduit that's believable and trustworthy. They're looking for a conduit that can inspire them. Once you start dealing with billions of dollars, those numbers are not comprehensible to people and thus are not very relevant."

"People feel themselves into a way of thinking more than they think themselves into a way of feeling. When people feel that you have the right instincts, that your instincts are consistent with their instincts, then they'll vote for you."

"My campaign stresses values, and people like that. The idea of treating children right, poor folks right, old folks right, a willingness to risk for peace—



those have been the dominant themes. When the masses respond by saying, 'That's what I want, that's what I feel,' then the scribes say, 'But you didn't give him a multiplication table.' You can get that from any computer or any reasonably well-informed college professor. In a leader they're looking for something else."

Clearly, Jackson's campaign is pitched to stirring feelings, which he does admirably. "If he can make this many people move," asked Blair Torelli, 20, as he and several hundred other University of New Hampshire students followed Jackson on a march to the voter registration office, "what can he do for the country? This country has been dead."

"Presidents are generalists who direct a nation and people who have the courage of their convictions to face a headwind and mold opinion and not just find a tailwind and be driven by opinion polls," Jackson told the full Rochester church. A president tells a technician to

feed the hungry, Jackson explained. He doesn't have to be an agricultural scientist. "Leaders move people, set values," he said. "Technicians do what they have to do or be replaced by other technicians."

Yet one of the misgivings people have about Jackson is his lack of governmental experience. He replies that some public servants act on, not in, government, that it has taken more leadership to influence the political climate to pass legislation than to simply vote for it once public opinion was molded. "I've been passing legislation for a long time," he quips.

Jackson does not devote a great deal of campaign time to economic policy, but he is more willing than most of the Democrats to criticize corporate power. Corporations, he says, are engaged in a form of "chemical warfare" against America that would provoke angry retaliation if some foreign power were responsible. He criticizes corporations for closing down factories here to move elsewhere for

"slave labor." And the yawning deficit reflects not only Reagan's use of unemployment to fight inflation and the bloated military budget but also the huge tax breaks that corporations got without any requirement that they reinvest, Jackson tells questioners.

Government should be a "convenor" of labor and business to work out agreements, Jackson says. "Government is at its best when you have a balance between labor and management with government playing the balancing wheel," he told me. "When government tilts to workers, it can destroy business. When government tilts to business, it can destroy workers. Government at its best becomes the balancing wheel. That's the responsible role for government. That's why government must be in the center of things, not on the side."

Jackson reflects the growing trend toward framing American economic problems primarily in terms of international competitiveness. But much as he points to the flood of Japanese products as the problem, he resists any form of trade management or restriction, including the auto domestic content legislation that would direct auto company investment here in proportion to their sales. "We run competitively in the Olympics," he said. "We don't ask for breaks—to run 90 yards in the 100-yard dash. We can run industry like we run track."

Beyond attempting to influence the policies of the party and its eventual candidate, Jackson wants to alter the politics of the party—reforming party rules to

open it up again, enforcing the voting rights act to strengthen black and liberal candidates in the South, bringing in new constituencies. "The old minorities have become the new majority," he says, and if women are counted as part of the rainbow coalition that is true.

Jackson, however, makes no explicit place in an otherwise inclusive rainbow for one of the old mainstays of the liberal coalition—working-class whites, many of them union members. Jackson's rainbow politics speaks directly to many of its other constituencies—women, environmentalists, peace activists, blacks—but more obliquely to the blue-collar white worker and with frequent reproach to organized labor.

The old splits of the Democratic Party of the '60s threaten to resurrect themselves: labor isolates itself with its conservative military and foreign policy, the rainbow—heir to many '60s social movements—ignoring the valuable role labor has played in fighting for many liberal domestic policies.

Jackson discussed some of these issues at length (but edited below) as we rode through the seacoast area of New Hampshire.

■ ■ ■
Is there some reason why you don't refer specifically to workers as part of the Rainbow Coalition?

No. There are many ways workers can relate that are self-evident. Environmentalists, blacks, Hispanics, women are workers. We talk about the poor who work. They are victims of inadequate wage scales or not having comparable pay.

Organized labor's leaders have made a collective judgment to close debate, to knock seven candidates off of the stage. They are attempting to lead the party by monopoly from the top down, not by motivation from the bottom up. So you have no true test of [Mondale's] ability to move the people.

What kind of appeal would you make to members of organized labor?

First, we need to put much more emphasis on vocational education in school and the history of labor. Our children must appreciate that what made America strong was not rags to riches millionaires here and there but the working people who built the nation on their shoulders. They ought to have appreciation of history of working people, how to organize themselves and the value of collective bargaining.

Second, I look at children in urban slums. They're not even being trained to rebuild where they live. Labor must open up to blacks, Hispanics, Asians, women and the locked-out.

If you were to address a middle-aged, white steelworker or autoworker, why should he support you?

Peace abroad should appeal to all of us. This generation is threatened by nuclear build-up. Our lives are threatened, our economy is threatened. He needs peace to reestablish his job base and convert it from military build-up. If he wants to choose the human race over the nuclear race, he would have great incentive to relate to this campaign. If he wants an earth for his children and their children, if he looked at the cost of the capital-intensive military industry, he should relate to this campaign.

The steelworker ought to have a sense

Continued on page 15

LETTERS

In These Times is an independent newspaper committed to democratic pluralism and to helping build a popular movement for socialism in the United States. Our pages are open to a wide range of views on the left, both socialist and non-socialist. Except for editorial statements appearing on the editorial page, opinions expressed in columns and in feature or news stories are those of the author and are not necessarily those of the editors. We welcome comments and opinion pieces from our readers.

MANIPULATION

I'M THANKFUL THAT PORNOGRAPHERS are with us. They are probably the least superstitious minority in America and are about the only true iconoclasts we have left. Their pedestal-trashing is healthy. We need them as much as we need reminders that people's rights might be in jeopardy.

But I wonder about the anti-porn coalition's own commitment to sensitivity when they take advantage of Linda (Lovelace) Marchiano's penchant for self-flagellation. She has an ax to grind and everybody knows it. Yet she was asked to come and play freak so her backers could score a few points, revealing that they, too, are well acquainted with the imperatives of manipulation. At her best, Marchiano resembles an ex-Moonie: someone whose latest crusade is to destroy the one they just deserted.

—Frank Binder
Chicago

RUNNING THE WRONG WAY

I HOPE I CAN TELEGRAPH ADEQUATE leftist and feminist credentials by saying that I am a member of the Citizens Party working for Sonia Johnson's campaign for our presidential nomination, as context for my opinion that the feminists of Minneapolis are running for the wrong goalposts with their anti-pornography ordinance.

As a dogmatic Bill of Rights partisan, I agree with the Minnesota Civil Liberties Union on the sufficiency of the First Amendment argument, but I have other reasons for believing this ordinance is not the way to go.

As far as "subordination" is concerned—I am far more put down by the DeBeers diamond ads in *Rolling Stone* that convey the message that women are for sale, or by the *Forbes* ad that says it's now OK for little girls to aspire to be social Darwinists as well as little boys, than I am by beaver shots or fuck films implying perfectly natural

impulses.

On the issue of incitement to violence: more crimes against person and property are probably inspired by a single issue of the *Wall Street Journal* than can be attributed to *Penthouse* since it first came out.

Rape is, I know from both feminism and criminology, a crime of violence, not of pleasure; it is therefore difficult to imagine its being provoked by the sexually exciting images of the typical porn magazine or film. As for the ugly stuff—I'm of the school that sees it as an outlet for hostility rather than an inspiration to go out and do likewise.

All my experience has led me to conclude that violent heterosexual pornography must in large part be an expression of resentment that most women still perceive a man's forthright expression of sexual interest as an assault.

You did well to leave it to the readers to choose up sides on this complex and volatile issue.

—Emily DeHuff
Chicago

CATALONIA

DOES THE "STALINIST SCHOOL OF Falsification" still exist? Albert Prago ("Letters," *ITT*, Jan. 25) takes issue with Daniel Lazare (*ITT*, Jan. 11) who he says, "...is content to launch outrageous fabrications like Stalin's secret police who were terrorizing Republican Spain." Apparently Prago's "advantage of hindsight"—to use his own phrase—has not served him well.

It is difficult to get into a discussion on the Spanish Civil War of 1936-39 without becoming emotional. The war was the trauma of a generation that came to maturity in the '30s. Old-time Socialists like myself saw the war as a last chance to defeat Fascism and prevent World War II, and possibly to stop the drift of the Soviet Union to the totalitarian society it is today. This might have been possible had it not been for the reactionary role played by the Soviet Union, the Communist International (Comintern) and its representative party in Spain.

The Popular Front won a great electoral victory in February 1936, and in July Franco led a rebellion against the government supported by legions from Morocco and most of the Catholic Church hierarchy, backed materially and spiritually by Hitler and Mussolini. Though the Loyalist Popular Front government controlled Madrid and the center of the country, Franco easily gained control of the south. But the north was for the most part in the hands of the POUM (an independent Marxist-Leninist organization) and the CNT-FAI (the anarchist/syndicalist federation of unions and cooperatives). The Trotskyists were practically nonexistent and the Communist Party, known as the PSUC, was not much larger. As the war progressed, the Soviet Union and the Comintern began to make itself felt. Republican Spain was inundated with agit-pros and secret police, who proceeded, as Lazare correctly says, to terrorize Republican Spain.

In Barcelona, after a series of well-documented provocations on the part of the PSUC, the Comintern stopped the war long enough—May 3-7, 1937—to trounce in blood the POUM and CNT-FAI, and with their world-wide agit-prop machine labeled them Fascists.

A few days before this, Orwell had sustained a neck wound at the front and so he came to Barcelona for further medical treatment. He was in a British Independent Labor Party unit fighting in the north under the auspices of the POUM. He arrived in Barcelona when the civil war within the Civil War broke out and when he got back to England, wrote up his experiences in what became known as "Homage to Catalonia."

—Joe Gladstone
Pescadero, Calif.

APPALLING

JOHN JUDIS (*ITT*, JAN. 25) SEEMS TO have a desire to discredit the Nicaraguan revolution. He calls the Sandinistas "markedly pro-Soviet." And (*ITT*, Jan. 18) he proclaims that the Kissinger report is essentially correct "in asserting a military alliance of the Sandinistas with the Cubans and Russians." But the evidence for his position is at best shaky.

True, the Sandinistas have accepted from the USSR and Cuba about 17 percent of their foreign aid. But they have also rejected some impressive Soviet offers, such as MIG fighter planes. In addition, the 17 percent Soviet figure is dwarfed by the 49 percent of aid received by Nicaragua from Western democracies.

It is true that there have been Cubans volunteering in Nicaragua as educators, construction workers and military advisors. It is also true that a great portion of these people left Nicaragua in 1983, at the government's request. This move seems largely intended to mollify U.S. critics. Furthermore, Nicaragua is under siege by the most powerful country in the world; it seems understandable that they would feel a need for some military assistance.

The Sandinistas have reiterated on many occasions their desire to remain neutral and independent of all foreign domination. Their actions thus far appear to uphold this aim.

The idea of yet another Soviet colony in the Americas (or anywhere) is no more appealing to me than to Judis. In fact, such an idea would find little support among American liberals, radicals and progressives (outside the CP). The insinuation that Nicaragua is such a colony is a serious smear. The implication is that next the Soviet Union will be putting missiles in Managua, sending Sandinista troops to aid the USSR's imperial schemes in Africa, imprisoning all political opponents, curtailing religious freedom and otherwise following Cuba down the road to Stalinism.

There is no evidence to support such notions. And the effect of their being stated, or implied, in a usually reliable progressive periodical is to weaken

American popular support for the Sandinistas. Marxist-Christian—humanist revolutionary experiment.

—Joel Hildebrandt
Nyack, N.Y.

SOFT HEADED

IT IS REMARKABLE THAT JOHN JUDIS, a middling "soft left" writer, would devote an entire article attacking a "soft left" convention (*ITT*, Feb. 1). No one expected much of the conference held at the Shoreham. Most of the important thinkers on the left were not in attendance.

What is most offensive, however, in an otherwise adolescent satire, is Judis' statement: "Regarding politics, the left has simply ceded the discussion of the nature of freedom and community to conservatives." The American Enterprise Institute, Judis' latest enthusiasm, has been preoccupied with the balance between relentless greed and social opposition to that greed for most of its existence. The basic question that Huntington, Kirkpatrick *et al.* have been trying to answer is how much can be taken before those that are being bled start to scream or collapse. Basically, these conservatives are concerned with the freedom to take from the community. The curious intellectual facade that AEI has painted for the imperial greed of those who own it certainly cannot be mistaken for a discussion of freedom or community. The same can be said for the three journals cited by Judis—*Modern Age*, *Policy Review* and *The Public Interest*. The intellectual justification for taking or destroying what rightly belongs to all is really the central idea of most of the tortured prose in these bland, peripheral publications.

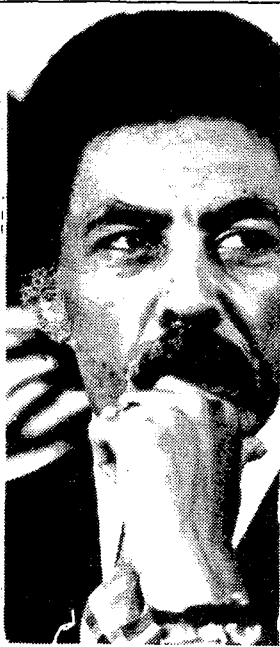
Among many other journals on the left, the *Nation* and the *Progressive* have profoundly and consistently dealt with the nature of freedom and community. The intellectual integrity and the level of analysis in both of these journals is certainly well beyond anything published on the right. Their concern with the nature of freedom and community is at the very core of this integrity and this analysis.

—Mark T. Kimbrell
Arlington, Va.

John Judis replies: There were several sentences in my review of the *Economics Education Project* that I would have welcomed the chance to detoxify, but this was not one of them. In my reading, the new defunct democracy was the only left journal to engage the questions of freedom and community with any rigor, and it did so in a quite peculiar manner. The last left-wing essay of merit that I read on the subject was Martin J. Sklar's "Liberty, Equality, and Socialism," *Socialist Review* March 1977. Nothing recent that I've read compares to George F. Will's *Statecraft* as *Soulcraft* or even Irving Kristol's *Two Cheers for Capitalism* and *On The Democratic Idea in America*. The import of these essays cannot be reduced to what Kimbrell believes to be their results any more than the import of Lenin's *What is to be Done?* can be reduced to Stalin's purge trials.

There are two reasons for the current theoretical drought on the left. The cyclical reason is that the quality of theory tends to reflect the vitality of a movement—most of the political ferment in the last decade has been on the right. The secular reason is that in the absence of a public socialist political and intellectual tradition in the U.S., members of the left do not share a framework in which the continuing discussion of basic questions can take place. Instead, we flail about, trying to find names for our inclinations ("progressives," "economic democrats") that will evade the liberal superego. Socialism, in this sense, is not the answer to basic questions, but a set of historical and political principles from which to begin. Lacking such answers, we vacillate, as I wrote in my article, between technical programmatics and public relations.

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STR1

PERSPECTIVES

Soviet stagnation goes on

By Louis Menashe

THE DEATH OF YURI ANDROP OV a scant 15 months after he assumed office evoked genuine grief among ordinary Russians, according to reports from Moscow. When his predecessor passed away, dry eyes were the norm; Leonid Brezhnev, whose restoration of a sense of stability after the tumultuous Khrushchev years had turned into a depressing immobilism, was scarcely loved or respected. He had come to symbolize a system running out of steam—his very appearances in public suggested weariness and infirmity. Economic performance and morale were down, corruption in official circles was up. Abroad, a pistol-packing zealot in the White House was given to alarming rhetoric about the Soviet Union and to even more alarming military postures. Detente became a dirty word in Washington. As a peaceful framework for managing Soviet-American rivalry, detente, like Brezhnev, was dying.

Andropov revived hopes for dramatic turnabouts both domestic and foreign. After 15 years as head of the KGB, the Soviet internal and external security agency, Andropov had earned a reputation for hard work, honesty and a quality much admired by Russians, a business-like, practical approach to things. Dissidents and other sections of the intelligentsia despaired, and with good reason. Andropov was no political reformer, no votary of ideological pluralism. As KGB boss he had systematically decimated the ranks of the dissident movement and assaulted its *samizdat* and other networks. Now, as boss of party and state, he continued what amounted to a mopping-up operation. One interesting by-product of both detente and the dissident movement, Jewish emigration, was virtually shut down completely.

For others not particularly concerned about the democratic promise of Soviet socialism there were other priorities—getting more food on the table, tightening up standards among the ruling cadres that made up the comfortable coterie around Brezhnev, putting a stop to a policy of drift and to the erosion of national pride.

Here Andropov fulfilled some of the hopes, if only symbolically in some cases. He said he favored "actions, not...noisy slogans." His speeches were shorter; he eschewed the trappings of the leadership cult; he appeared promptly at his desk in the morning and put in a full working day. Within months of his accession, Andropov launched a law-and-order, work-discipline campaign that had militia men scouring the streets and the Turkish baths for idlers who should have been at their desks and shop-floors. Workers and personnel at the Ordzhonikidze Machine Tool Plant in Moscow were startled by a visit from the General Secretary himself in January 1983—toward the end of the work day. Andropov told them, "The main problem for us is to increase production efficiency," and that "millions of man-hours" were lost "because of time off taken during working hours, smoking breaks, absenteeism and slipshod work." Visible production pay-offs would come not from grander capital inputs but from a little Protestant ethic at the workplace: "The absentee, the botcher and the loafer damage not so much themselves as the collective and the society as a whole." This ethic, he assured his audience at the end of his visit, "doesn't apply only to workers and engi-

neering and technical personnel. It applies to everyone, starting with Ministers."

And he meant business; Andropov assaulted laxity and corruption in high places, continuing policies he started at the KGB and that had even touched the Brezhnev family. In June 1983 Gen. Nikolai Schelokov, a long-time Brezhnev associate, was one of two figures dropped from the Party's Central Committee on corruption charges, and was relieved of his duties as Minister of Internal Affairs. (Whether he goes on trial will be an index of where Konstantin Chernenko stands in these matters.) He was replaced by another KGB stalwart with a reputation for toughness, Vitaly Fedorchuk. Still another energetic KGB man (in his native Azerbaijan), Geider Aliyev, was ushered into the political limelight by Andropov shortly after Brezhnev's death. Brought into the Politburo as a full member and made a First Deputy Prime Minister, Aliyev is clearly a man to watch. He has been entrusted with trouble-shooting tasks, including trips abroad (he had been scheduled to visit Syria before Andropov died) and responsibilities for transport and consumer goods, where bottlenecks are a byword.

All of this—plus good weather—had a positive impact on overall Soviet economic performance for 1983. Gross national output increased by nearly 4 percent, just about doubling the rates for 1981 and 1982. Natural gas and petroleum production continued to rise and the grain harvest is expected to yield more than 200 million tons after four very bad years. Meat, milk and eggs production were also up, on the average of just over 6 percent. All in all, it was the best industrial and agricultural year since 1978.

Small wonder that Andropov was mourned. Still, the Andropov policies were little more than cosmetics applied with KGB elan. The problems of Soviet society and the economy run deeper than work discipline, itself a symptom not a cause of stagnation; they are not tractable to para-Stalinist methods of the cracking of the whip sort. Even if he had more time, better health and greater charisma, Andropov was not equipped to relieve the Soviet system of its encrusted burdens. The same may be said of the men of his generation and general outlook. (Although surprises are always possible: who could have predicted the dynamism of a Khrushchev?) One modest start in this direction, in the area of industrial organization, was actually begun in January of this year. In certain sectors, local managerial autonomy has been broadened, with the intent of loosening the grip of the Moscow bureaus and encouraging production innovations from below.

A real measure of the depth of Soviet problems comes from a confidential critique, circulated last summer, by the economist Tatiana Zaslavskaya. Excerpts reaching the West read like analyses of "bureaucratic deformations" made by Marxist critics going back to Bukharin and extending to contemporary Eastern European theorists. Entitled "Problems of Improving Socialist Production Relations and the Tasks of Economic Sociology," the paper attacks the "outdated nature of the system of industrial organization and economic management" and its inability to "insure complete and efficient utilization of the working and intellectual potential of society." The system "has been repeatedly amended, renovated and perfected, but it has never undergone a qualitative transformation," something for which "purely administrative methods are futile." The paper of-

fers sophisticated explanations for low worker morale and shoddy workplace practices, as well as for the mushrooming of "executives who...occupy warm places...with quite respectable salaries." Both conditions are system-generated and require basic reforms, not administrative tinkering.

Needless to add, reforms involving decentralization, autonomy and local initiative have enormous political implications. The Andropov regime's response to the paper was instructive as to the persistence of old habits. Instead of publishing it and encouraging public discussion of its analysis and recommendations, the government asked the KGB to track down those who had leaked the document to American newspapers.

Several things about the Chernenko

with the regular laws of bureaucratic functioning tend toward consensus, stability and continuity.

Third, Chernenko's appointment offers genuine possibilities for easing East-West tensions. Andropov was compelled to react in kind to Reagan's tough talk and provocative military gambits. If Soviet communism was the "focus of evil in the modern world" and would end "on the dust heap of history," then, as Soviet journalists put it, Reagan was "the Fuhrer's heir," a liar, a murderer and a hypocrite. (Andropov himself refrained from such coarse denunciations, as if to stress how far Reagan had sullied the discourse.) If Cruise missiles and Pershing IIs were deployed in Europe, then the USSR would break off arms negotiations and deploy advanced systems of their own in East Germany and Czechoslovakia.

In all probability, no Soviet leader could have swayed the Reagan administration from its course of overcoming the "Vietnam syndrome" of timidity abroad, especially in the Third World, or its drive to shut the alleged "windows of vulnerability" to Soviet nuclear attack. Now that Washington is buoyed by the glorious Grenada invasion and by a strategic weapons buildup, it's time to consider an opening of diplomatic opportu-

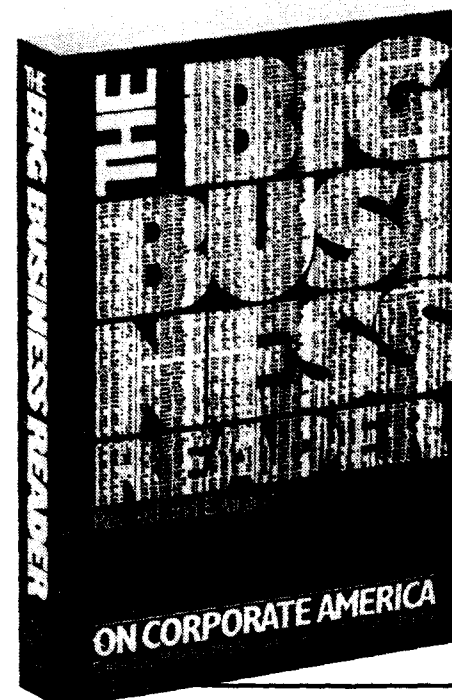


succession ought to be kept in mind. First, that his appointment represents no dramatic shift in weight from "younger" to "older" political figures. The fact that Brezhnev was virtually incapacitated for many of his final years in office and that Andropov was gravely ill during his last six months suggests that a collective leadership embracing old and young groups has been in place, making policy and running things. Chernenko is now its chief figurehead and little may be expected by way of change.

Second, even if Chernenko were reform minded (an unlikely possibility), or a reactionary, it would require many months and years to realize changes. A new Soviet leader does not simply install a new administration, as in the American political system, with some "mandate for change." Soviet political structure, with its self-appointing oligarchy, together

ity. Chernenko allows Washington to save face, to consider the harsh mood of the Andropov period as a bygone, particularly since the new leader's early pronouncements have been on the conciliatory side. This is, at any rate, the view of some leaders in the Atlantic alliance. Europeans (and Canadians) have a higher regard than Washington for the way the balance of forces has shifted in the recent past. The USSR cannot be consigned to pariah status. Its power has to be recognized and integrated into some broad, peaceful and mutually acceptable pattern of East-West relations. We have had a New Cold War. Perhaps the moment is at hand for a New Detente.

Louis Menashe teaches Russian history at the Polytechnic Institute of New York and contributes regularly to In These Times on Soviet affairs.



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DIALOG

Rosenbergs' sons dispute findings

On September 13, James Weinstein reviewed *The Rosenberg File*, by Ronald Radosh and Joyce Milton. The following is a response to the review and the book by Robert and Michael Meeropol, the children of Ethel and Julius Rosenberg.

By Robert and Michael Meeropol

Since 1974 we have often publicly cited the facts behind our firm belief that our parents, Julius and Ethel Rosenberg, were framed. Simply put, they were not guilty of "conspiracy to commit espionage." We remain convinced that they did not conspire and that they did not commit espionage. These conclusions are not based on our emotions, to which we readily admit, but rather on a careful sifting of the fruits of over 30 years of investigative work.

The evidence is overwhelming and remains uncontroverted in spite of Ronald Radosh and Joyce Milton's book, *The Rosenberg File*. The chief prosecution witnesses, David and Ruth Greenglass, and Harry Gold, repeatedly lied during the trial. These lies were critical to establishing the government's case. It also remains uncontroverted that key pieces of evidence were either fabricated or did not prove what they purported to show. We will concentrate here on five crucial examples, elaborating on each.

- David and Ruth Greenglass lied when they said our parents' console table had been a gift from the Russians. Ruth Greenglass lied when she said it had a hollowed out section so it could be used for microfilming. The table was not introduced at the trial, but was found later. Testimony established it had been purchased at Macy's as our parents had testified. It had three drill holes, but no hollowed out portion. The table is of critical importance because it is one of the only pieces of physical evidence that third parties could view in order to determine who was lying. In a conspiracy trial, where the case boils down to the defendant's word against the prosecution witnesses, credibility is the key.

- The Greenglasses lied when they said that our father convinced them to have passport photos taken. Walter and Miriam Schneir in *Invitation to an Inquest*, proved these photos, introduced at the trial, were family snapshots. Readers of the Radosh-Milton (henceforth R-M) book are never informed that the Greenglasses ever gave this testimony, let alone that it has been proven false.

- David Greenglass lied when he said our father had stolen a proximity Fuse from Emerson Radio where he worked during World War II. In our book, *We Are Your Sons*, we showed that our father could not have done this. The government, in fact, learned that no whole proximity Fuse was missing, and we provided evidence that our father could not have pieced a new fuse together from discarded parts while on a garbage detail. (*Sons* . . . pp. 190-192.) R-M reiterate the charge of theft but ignore the government's statement and our evidence.

- The Greenglasses lied when they said, "Ethel did the typing." R-M admit that the FBI got the Greenglasses to concoct that critical evidence against our mother only two weeks before the trial. But, R-M ultimately conclude that our mother probably was involved anyway.

- Like the Greenglasses, Harry Gold has been exposed as a liar. R-M admit that Gold had a long history of lying. They

admit that he created a fictitious life and once stated on the witness stand, "I lied so often it's a wonder steam did not come out of my ears." Yet they chose to believe most of what he said at the trial. The files show that Gold was putty in the FBI's hands. They show that his statements, just like those of the Greenglasses, changed in key ways between his arrest and the trial. R-M note that one such change occurred because Gold "corrected himself." (p. 45.) They ignore the pattern of changes in the course of the government's "development" of this testimony.

R-M claims to rise above the debate and describe their effort as an uninvolved "search for the truth." James Weinstein concludes in *In These Times* (9/83) "... any reader not encumbered with an ideological axe to grind would find Radosh's and Milton's conclusions convincing. . . ." *In These Times* readers should be skeptical of such statements. No doubt many readers noted the arrogance behind Weinstein's pronouncement that reasoned conclusions other than his own are impossible.

Because a conclusion supporting our father's guilt cannot be established from the trial testimony or evidence, R-M focus on data in the government files that was not used at trial. They claim that there is extensive circumstantial evidence of a second spy ring that our father voluntarily organized. They then rely on the existence of this spy ring to conclude that Gold and the Greenglasses told the essential truth.

What is distilled from almost 200,000 pages of government documents depends on the perspective of the researcher. Perspective provides the basis for determining what is important and what is not. Since the FBI has been known to fabricate evidence, a perspective also helps figure out what in the files to believe. We admit our perspective, but R-M fail to admit theirs. We view the McCarthy period as the government's effort to gather support for U.S. global economic and military expansion. We believe the government used a series of spy trials to help convince the public that its international post-war poli-

Radosh and Milton take much of what the FBI says in the files at face value.

cies were defensive, as well as to "prove" that domestic communists were really agents of Stalin. The revelations of the Vietnam War period, Watergate, and CoIntelpro have shown a police pattern of political frameups, harassment, and assassination. The government's files were also designed for prosecutorial purposes. Thus, we are extremely skeptical of what is in the files.

R-M, on the other hand, take the position that the American Communist Party's blind support for the Soviet Union would naturally lead young zealots into espionage activities. As a result, R-M take much of what the FBI says in the files at face value. However, they claim to have believed in our parents' innocence in 1974. While this may be true, it was Radosh's conclusion that our father was guilty of "something" that led him to start working on this project. Far from an objective search for the truth, his work is an effort to marshall all the facts possible to bolster a set of preconceived ideas. Thus, his use

of the files not only reflects his perspective, but his determination regardless of the facts to reach the "right" conclusion.

Here are a few examples of how R-M misused the files. There are many more that space limitations will not permit us to cover.

J. Edgar Hoover, writing during the Korean War, asked if the activities of William Perl (a scientist and supposed member of the "other spy ring") had resulted in the Sovi-

ets using American designs to build the MIG-15. The *World Telegram* ran this story as proof of the damage done by the spy ring. R-M include this story. However, in the FBI files are statements from three government agencies that there was no evidence of any American design in the MIG-15. R-M ignore these files.

A key argument in the book is their acceptance of the credibility of Jerome Eugene Tartakow, a jailhouse informer incarcerated with our father. Why would our father confess to this man in a presumably bugged cell, and then go to his death proclaiming his innocence without a word to his family and lawyer? R-M's acceptance of Tartakow has two parts: his supposed friendship with fellow inmate Eugene Dennis, head of the U.S. Communist Party, and accepting that Tartakow's stories "checked out." Simply put, he could not have known some of the things he told the FBI if our father had not told him.

R-M, echoing earlier work by Sol Stern and Radosh, use an uncorroborated (and subsequently denied) interview to make their arguments. They write that Dennis' friendship with Tartakow is proved by the fact that Dennis wrote a recommendation for him to Emmanuel (Manny) Bloch, our parents' lawyer. Bonnie Brower, who at the time was one of our attorneys working on our Freedom of Information Act lawsuit, is supposed to have told Radosh and Stern this. She denied it and called them liars. Her denial aside, how could she have known, she was a child at the time? Have R-M any other evidence to support this charge? No. Only Tartakow corroborates Tartakow. There is nothing in the FBI files about such a letter.

Tartakow suggested to Stern and Radosh that the reason our father confided the details of his espionage activities to him in jail was so that Tartakow would relay the messages to Dennis. Yet the FBI files show Tartakow telling the FBI that Eugene Dennis was among our father's friends in the prison. Thus, there was no reason for Tartakow to relay messages. The files are consistent with the memory of Dennis' widow, Peggy, whose arguments are dismissed by R-M because they ignore this crucial document. Here, the confirmation of Tartakow is torpedoed by Tartakow himself!

James Weinstein is very impressed that Tartakow independently corroborates his (Weinstein's) meetings with our father in Ithaca. However, the FBI had the basic outline of the trip to Ithaca before Tartakow mentioned it. Our father testified at the trial that he made at least one trip in an effort to borrow money. Revealingly, Tartakow's "independent corroboration" of this story was not given to the FBI until well after the trial. R-M ignore these facts. They also ignore Tartakow's more outrageous statements, including the evidence that led the FBI to believe that Weinstein himself was part of the spy ring.

R-M ask in reply, "Why would the FBI stuff untrustworthy material into its own files? What would have been the purpose of such an exercise?" The files show that the prosecution warned the FBI in February of 1951 that the judge might grant any defense motion demanding to see a record of all bureau statements that could be used as background to trial testimony. Thus, if the FBI ever wished to use any of the "Tartakow tales" against our parents, they had to have a record of them. The same is true for any material given after the trial in the event that a new trial was granted. R-M ignored this document and never considered this possibility.

In addition to abusing documents, R-M

misuse interviews. Two key individuals they quote extensively are John Gates and Junius Scales, former officials of the Communist Party. Walter Schneir recently re-interviewed them. Scales stated that the quote, "I had no doubt about the involvement of the Rosenbergs," does not apply to his knowledge in 1950. Scales stated that a third party told him in the 1960s that the manner in which our parents' *Daily Worker* subscription was cancelled was evidence of their guilt. Meanwhile, John Gates reiterated that he had indeed said: "Julius Rosenberg was very active . . . and one fine day he disappeared. We knew there was only one explanation . . ." (Here R-M added that Gates made it clear that espionage was the only explanation.) But when Schneir asked if Gates had ever heard of our father before 1950, he said he had not. In fact, he had never heard of a Rosenberg subscription to the *Daily Worker* being cancelled. "I was an editor, what did I know about circulation?"

The key issue is whether these men had been in a position in 1945 or 1950 to know anything that would support the R-M hypothesis that our father and mother dropped out of the Communist Party and cancelled their subscription to the *Daily Worker* in order to become spies. Neither Gates nor Scales knew if they had dropped out or if they had cancelled a subscription. So what do the interviews with Scales and Gates prove, except that they believe 30 years later that our parents were guilty?

Have Radosh and Milton any other evidence to support this charge? No. Only Tartakow corroborates Tartakow.

What about James Weinstein's two meetings with our father? We can't prove no espionage was going on. The files are incomplete and so is our knowledge. However, R-M provide absolutely no evidence that those meetings had anything to do with espionage.

Why is James Weinstein so easily convinced that *The Rosenberg File* "is a thoroughly and carefully researched book?" Weinstein claims his opponents have an ideological axe to grind, but he admits to none. Is it merely coincidence that his conclusion that our parents were "spies and victims" bolsters his already articulated views of the American Left? There is also an unadmitted personal involvement. Weinstein and Radosh have been personal friends for years. Radosh is a "sponsor" of *In These Times*. It was Weinstein's personal story that set Radosh in motion. Perhaps Weinstein believes *The Rosenberg File* is a thoroughly researched, objective book because Radosh told him so.

Weinstein also finds the fleeing to the Soviet Union of alleged spy ring members convincing "proof" that the espionage ring existed. However, *anyone* associated with our parents was harassed during this American inquisition. Does flight prove guilt? R-M claim that if those who chose to run were not guilty, they would have returned. Why? Those who left the U.S. developed successful careers in the Soviet Union, while those who stayed had their careers, reputations and lives ruined.

Is *The Rosenberg File* solely motivated by a search for the truth or is it a fraudulent attempt to stretch the data to reach exciting conclusions while bolstering previously held political beliefs? After all, a scholarly review of the files that concludes that doubts remain about the credibility of the Greenglasses, Gold and Tartakow, would never make the best seller list, would it?

Working Class Hero: A New Strategy for Labor

By Stanley Aronowitz
The Pilgrim Press, 229 pp.,
\$18.95

By Michael Harrington

Stanley Aronowitz' *Working Class Hero* is an important, fascinating book that appears at a critical time in American labor history.

Currently, there is a management offensive against workers organizations of a viciousness not seen since the days of the "yellow dog contract"; there is overt strikebreaking; there are contracts negotiated that give away the rights of those not yet hired and thus lay a basis for generational conflicts within the unions; and there are women and minorities, who desperately need economic solidarity if they are to end their structural inferiority in the labor force, looking toward unions that are laying off staff rather than engaging in new organizing drives.

Aronowitz' new book, like his previous writings, combines scholarly depth and militancy. His historical analysis has a political point: that unions were the key element in the New Deal coalition, which was as far left as American society ever went, and that they must play a central role in a new political bloc if there is to be a left response to the crises of the '80s and '90s. But labor will not play that role unless it realizes that it is in crisis and that there must be new thrusts, particularly with regard to the "technical intelligentsia," women and minorities.

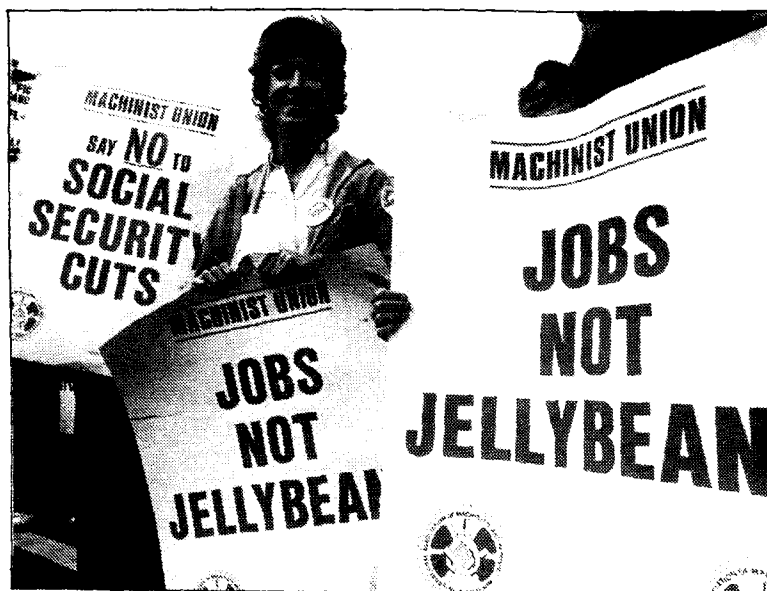
One element in that trade union revitalization, Aronowitz rightly argues, must be the realization that a "corporatist" perspective—the unions trading off social peace for a steady, but non-redistributive share of a constantly growing economic pie—no longer works. Labor must look far beyond the "social contract unionism" that was the ideological basis of that trade-off strategy, or else it will become even less of a force in society.

Working Class Hero illuminates this political perspective by way of both historical and socio-economic analysis. In the former discussion I have some ambivalencies and criticisms—but then, Aronowitz is ambivalent on these points. But his attempt at present and future strategy for labor on the basis of economic and occupational trends requires few qualifications.

Anti-personality.

In his historical section, Aronowitz rightly takes issue with the cult of anti-personality that is sometimes encountered on the left: that the failure of socialism in the American labor movement is due to the malign influence of Samuel Gompers. Gompers, Aronowitz understands, was a complex, and in some ways even admirable man. He was opposed to "those for whom the goal was everything, the movement nothing." In an American labor movement, which until the foundation of the American Federation of Labor (AFL) in the 1880s had too often been a debating society for contentious utopians, that was a positive point of view.

Gompers' distrust of the state, his insistence that the workers rely on their own economic power rather than putting trust into "politicians," was an American attitude (the suspicion of central authority is, as Samuel Hunting-



INPRINT

LABOR POLITICS

Solidarity Day forever

ton rightly noted in a recent book, one of the themes of our history and Gompers had a proletarian version of it). But it also had a certain similarity to the French anarcho-syndicalists, a fact recognized by the young William Z. Foster who (quite correctly to my mind) thought that revolutionary trade unionists should work within the AFL rather than moving to the Industrial Workers of the World.

Aronowitz also recognizes that Gompers had moved well beyond a narrow business unionism early on. After all, the fight for the eight-hour day—and the creation of May Day as a workers' holiday—came out of the AFL under his leadership. Even more to the point, Aronowitz shows how Gompers changed over time, becoming more political as he grew older.

So far so good. My criticisms have to do with the analysis of why the movement that Gompers led in his life and influenced so profoundly followed him after his death. Why, to take up the age-old question, was there—is there—no independent working-class party in the U.S.? That, Aronowitz well knows, cannot be explained in terms of the mesmerizing qualities of Gompers.

Working Class Hero gives two somewhat conflicting reasons for the failure of a labor perspective in the Gompers period. Aronowitz stresses that, in the U.S., in contrast to Britain, "a fraction of capital sought grounds for class compromise" and this acted to keep the class struggle out of the political realm. Now there is no doubt that the National Civic Federation (NCF), the institutionalization of that class collaboration tendency, played a certain role in the period prior to

World War I. But that was also a time of the most fierce class struggle and it is wrong to suggest that the NCF ideology dominated the entire labor movement.

A conscious deal.

But throughout his book Aronowitz tends too much to account for American history in terms of a *conscious* deal: "Labor leadership became oriented to forging a new partnership between trade unions and those sections of the political directorate and capital-

Aronowitz' second reason for the non-emergence of an independent working-class political movement is much more on the mark: the fact that "fragmented immigrant labor increasingly dominated the new industrial workplaces" at the decisive moment of transition to corporate capitalism.

Aronowitz then carries the analysis into the '30s and argues that, "as early as 1933, the industrial union upsurge led by an amalgam of socialists, Communists and voluntarist trade unions had already abandoned class struggle or redistributive perspectives." This, he holds, was a major reason for the failure of

the labor party perspective in that period. But as I look back on those times, it was the Communist Party in its Popular Front phase that made dramatic political gains and the Socialist Party, which maintained a "left" critique of Roosevelt, that went into disastrous decline. In the post-World War II years, Aronowitz notes, the continuation of the old tradition was not primarily a consequence of the intrusion of the Cold War into the unions (e.g., the bureaucratic expulsion of the "left" unions in the CIO),

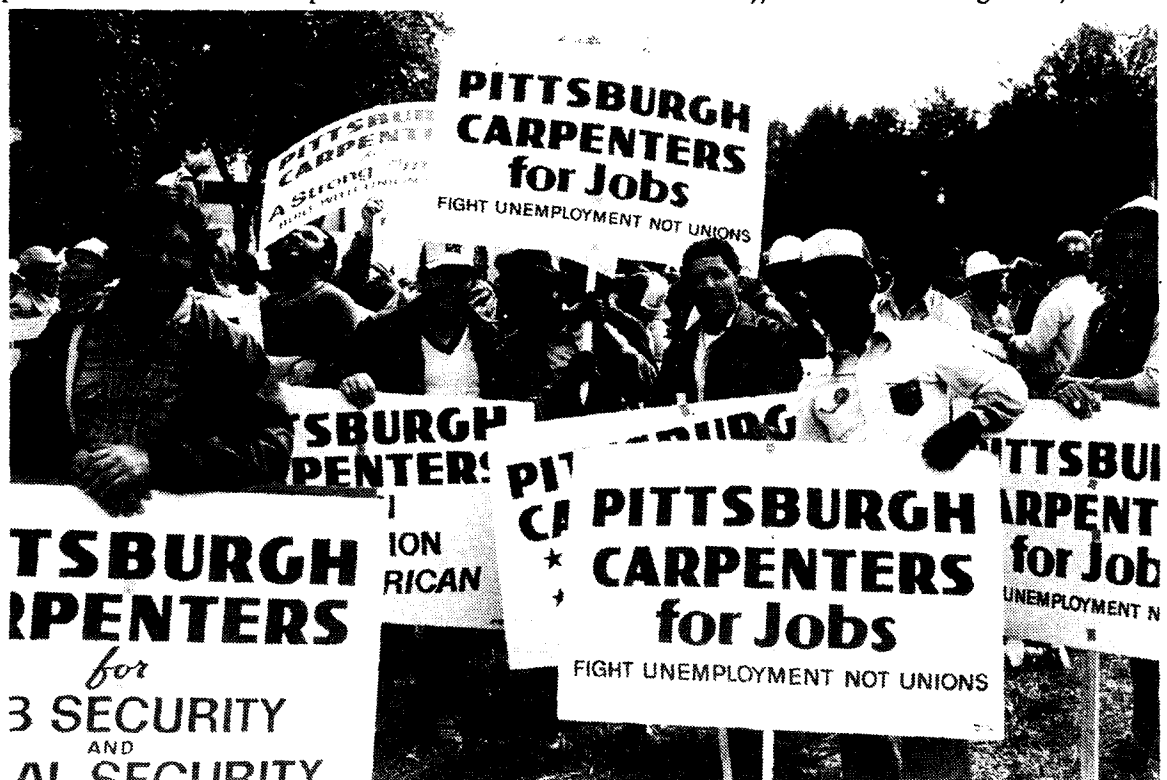
where the social unionists like Walter Reuther and O.A. Knight were concerned.

I also think, as Democratic Socialists of America leader Jim Chapin has pointed out, that the continental, presidential character of the American system has destined us to the two-party politics that have dominated the nation since the time of Lincoln. We are so huge that geographic coalitions often undercut class-based alliances; and our non-parliamentary government structure makes a Canadian, New Democratic Party development much less likely. This is a major reason why there is no independent working-class party.

New political blocs.

So much for the criticism. When Aronowitz comes to the present and future, I am in agreement. However one accounts for the historical development of a perspective that sees the unions as a partner—a junior partner—in a growth-based capitalist society with an endlessly growing surplus, that perspective no longer works. The surplus has become much more of a problem and will remain so into the foreseeable future, even in the current recovery. More to the point—and here Aronowitz' analysis is devastatingly compelling—the occupational structure is changing so that a politics based primarily on the resources of the industrial working class must fail. This is not to say that Aronowitz blithely writes off industrialization. On the contrary, he is for re-industrialization, but he understands that this battle cannot be won by the industrial working class alone.

The relative decline of that industrial working class, Arono-



The Solidarity Day demonstration in 1981 (above) assembled a "new political bloc" of labor and other social movements that Aronowitz sees as essential—but it didn't go anywhere.

ist class able to envision a society based upon social justice within the framework of the prevailing order...." That this describes the fact of much of American labor history does not prove that the pattern was *intentional*. World War II ended unemployment—but Roosevelt did not lead the nation into it in order to accomplish that end. The unions did indeed operate within a framework that accepted the established order, but they did not do so out of some long-range and conscious arrangement. Indeed, I would suggest that the fraction of British capitalists prepared to strike such a deal, located in the Liberal Party, was much larger and more sophisticated than the businessmen of the NCF at precisely the time of the emergence of the Labour Party.

but based upon the deeper economic and social trends he had analyzed earlier. Here I am in agreement and it is precisely because Aronowitz is putting more of an emphasis upon the non-intentional.

Aronowitz is right to stress the way in which the post World War II focus upon "fringe" benefits took much of the steam out of the drive toward independent labor political action. If strong unions could win good medical and retirement packages there was less reason for them to take the commitment to national health as seriously as they otherwise might have done and less need for a party to carry on the fight. This development, Aronowitz shrewdly notes, was often a matter of "necessity" rather than of "design," particularly

witz holds, is of a piece with the rise of a "technical intelligentsia." That tertiary sector labor force is not being "proletarianized" exactly as Serge Mallet once thought it would be, but it is becoming an organizable workforce. Issues having to do with the human consequences of technology—the isolated "work station" with its VDT (video display terminal)—have become critically important. In many cases—like the VDTs—these trends impinge particularly upon women. At the same time, there is yet another working class—recruited from the minorities, the undocumented workers and the like—that is becoming more and more important.

All of this leads Aronowitz to his notion of a "new political

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SPORTSCENE

NBA

Draft helps rich get richer

By Lester Rodney

When the National Basketball Association (NBA) holds its annual draft of college players, the teams draft in the inverse order of finish, from best to worst. This is in order to maintain a little balance in the league, to keep the rich from getting richer and the poor from getting poorer. Of the 23 NBA teams, the three weakest as of this writing are Cleveland, Indiana and San Diego. At least their fans can look forward to acquiring the cream of the college crop for next year, right?

Wrong. Dallas, a successful team, traded for Cleveland's first round pick, giving up journeyman Mike Bratz, who's not even

with Cleveland any more. And Cleveland fans are supposed to maintain an interest in the Cavaliers. Indiana? The contending Portland club owns their first round pick, acquired for backup center Tow Owen, who is not even in the league any more. And the champion 76ers hold San Diego's first round pick, the result of a trade for Lloyd Free, not quite such an absurd steal, but bad enough. Free isn't with the Clippers any more either.

Nor is there anything new about this year's first round draft farce. It happens all the time as inept businessmen who buy a pro sports franchise for vanity and don't know doodly about the game are gleefully bilked by the smarter organizations.

Biggest heist of all was the Los

Angeles Lakers sending over-the-hill guard Gail Goodrich to New Orleans for three top draft picks, one of which brought them Magic Johnson. Even if Goodrich had been in his prime, a 6'1" guard is hardly the kind of player who can turn a franchise around. No knowledgeable fan of high school age would have given better than a number two for Goodrich. The deal gutted and finally wrecked the New Orleans franchise. Cleveland, basically a good sports city, has been teetering on the edge of similar NBA disaster due to just that combination of owner stupidity and unrestrained cupidity by the smart ones. Would you believe the championship Los Angeles Lakers two years ago adding first pick James Worthy to their roster in exchange for having sent Don Ford (he's gone) to Cleveland? Or the Boston Celtics adding number one pick Larry Bird as the reward for sending M.L. Carr to the then struggling Detroit Pistons? (Carr is back with the Celtics as a sub.)

What could the NBA do about all this? Short of that happy day when the fans who support a professional team have something to say about who is allowed to own the team, the league could partly restore the original intent of the draft by simply prohibiting any team from trading away its first draft choice. That would protect a franchise and the fans and play-

ers from owners who know little about basketball, and from owners trying for a quick short-term attendance fix at the expense of the team's future.

No charge, NBA. It would really work. Poll the paying clientele in the cities with chronic losers and get an earful.

Super thought and Super Bowl.

In *These Times* senior editor John Judis, a closet sports fan, reminds us that during the 1982 pro football player strike, the two teams most united behind the strike, with the most prominent strike leaders, and the owners most favorably disposed to the players' demands were the Raiders and the Redskins, who wound up in the Super Bowl. (Gene Upshaw and Mark Murphy were the player strike leaders.) The two teams least united behind the strike? The disappointing Dallas Cowboys and San Diego Chargers. (Cowboy quarterback White was viewed as a company fink by some of the players, and Charger quarterback Fouts was loudly opposed to the strike and ready to play for a scab team.)

Judis, who works in Washington, D.C., and has observed the Georgetown basketball team, disagrees with my prediction that the Hoyas will win the NCAA

championship; he thinks they won't even make the final four. I like what I've seen of Georgetown on the tube, pulling away impressively from strong Nevada-Los Vegas and Syracuse on the road, and I'll stick with the hunch, though picking the NCAA tournament winner has to be the wildest guessing game in all of sportsdom. North Carolina—loaded and beautifully coached—could obviously breeze right on through without losing a thing (or get bumped off in the first round). Anyone who is cer-

Trading draft picks is a short-term attendance fix for greedy, know-nothing team owners.

tain Houston, Kentucky, Illinois, Ray Meyer's last DePaul team or even obnoxious Bobby Knight's improving Indianans can't jell in time to supply the final net-cutting act at Seattle's Kingdome in March knows something this humble observer doesn't.

Hero

Continued from page 13

bloc" based upon a labor movement that has regained—in precisely the context described in *Working Class Hero*—a class struggle perspective and that reaches out to the new social movements (minorities, women, environmentalists) that are "objectively aligned in opposition to the dominant neo-liberal and conservative fractions of capital." Is that pie in the sky? I think not. In September 1981, at the Solidarity Day demonstration in Washington, something like Aronowitz' "new political bloc" was assembled—but it did not go anywhere, and it was never mobilized again. Yet there was proof that a decisive call for such a mobilization would be answered.

But if that is to happen there must be a flowering of the intellectual life of the working class. My impression—gained in part from teaching young men and women from union families—is that the "organic intellectuals" from the traditional working class have been weakened because of the availability of college education (itself a very real social gain). At the same time, the stratum of middle class intellectuals who identified with the unions decreased for a variety of reasons (a superficial, ultra-leftist hostility to the actual organizations of actual workers being one of them). As a result, at a

time when labor desperately needs debate and discussion—new departures in both theory and practice—there is not much going on.

That makes Stanley Aronowitz' new book doubly important. It asks the right questions, even when it gives flawed answers. And more often than not, the questions and answers are excellent and the analysis of the new situation is fresh and stimulating. One can only hope that *Working Class Hero* does not remain a lonely individual accomplishment, that it is the beginning of a new working-class intellectual life with enormous practical relevance.

Michael Harrington is co-chair of Democratic Socialists of America.

Games

Continued from page 16

ter how skillfully the video wizard presses the buttons.

These computerized games of death are a way both of fulfilling a fear of nuclear death and of comforting the player at the same time: they are ways of "feeling" and "handling" the unthinkable. While they removed from nuclear warfare the distance and remoteness it has assumed in our society, they also allow the fake warrior to witness, and therefore survive, the end of the world.

This sort of game, or its evolution, was not inherent in the

technology itself. It could, and in the case of home video games still does, produce other patterns. In fact, the first arcade video games did not deal with total warfare. "Pong" (1972) was a duel between two paddles and had to be played with a partner. "Sea Wolf" (1976) was an update of the old submarine periscope games of yesteryear, with the player as the hunter and not the hunted.

"Space War" in 1977 brought a battle to the center of the screen for the first time, but the conclusion was not foreclosed: your money, not your skill, bought time, and you could finish without losing anything other than your shirt. Only in 1978, when "Space Invaders," introduced from Japan by the Midway Company, hit the U.S., did video games become big business. The player had been turned into a victim, remaining trapped in the role ever since.

Non-war video games also play out the same situation of death and loss. Those which have as a theme a voyage or a rescue, and a less bleak ecology ("Frogger," "Donkey Kong," "Crazy Climber"), have crea-

tures who are playing for time in a game they are sure to lose—defenseless people relying on their quickness and agility to sidestep the menacing, overwhelming world.

A similar picture emerges from the maze games, the most famous of which is "Pac-Man." Here, the victim, caught in a labyrinth that resembles a claustrophobic marketplace, is constantly transformed from hunter to hunted and back again, switching back and forth in this subordinate/dominant role according to the amount of energy available. This sort of game gives us an image, not only of the nuclear predicament, but of a paranoid, violent world where we do not control the decisions that might lead to our destruction, because we do not, to be quite frank, control anything very important in our lives.

Computerized games, therefore, give back what the player has lost in society: some degree of participation—twisted, vicarious and tangled as it may be—in the preservation of the player's own existence. The game

warns players that they are doomed and insecure and, at the same time, it tells them that, meanwhile, they must hustle, be suspicious, breed quick reflexes and go it alone. Like all mass entertainment, the video game helps its clients to play out their anxieties and identify them without having to acknowledge the loneliness, the hostility, the grinding terror inside.

The game, however, is not that innocent. The U.S. children of the '50s who were harrowed by subterranean visions of extinction and who had to live through the air-raided drills of the Cold War, are the ones who have invented the buttons on today's games. Many of the youngsters frantically playing today's video games may be in charge of tomorrow's real buttons. In fact, people who live life as a video game may, heaven and Pac-Man help us, be in charge of those weapons right now.

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CALENDAR

Use the calendar to announce conferences, lectures, films, events, etc. The cost is **\$20.00 for one insertion**, **\$30.00 for two insertions** and **\$15.00 for each additional insert**, for copy of 50 words or less (additional words are 50¢ each). Payment must accompany your announcement, and should be sent to the attention of **Kirby Mittelmeier**.

CHICAGO, IL

March 1

PSR Chicago's March Chapter meeting will be on "Public Speaking for PSR: Beyond the Medical Model." It will be held Thursday, March 1, at 6:30 p.m. in the AB Dick Auditorium at Rush Medical Center, 1750 W. Harrison. Everyone is welcome and urged to participate in this lively discussion.

March 4

The Wayne State film *Talking about Women Workers* will be shown at

YMCA, 5256 N. Broadway at 2:00 p.m., with discussion following; admission free. This is the first of a series of film discussions planned by Industrial Workers of the World. For info call IWW at 549-5045.

March 18

Performances for Peace presents Irving Ilmer, violist and violinist, and William Dresden, pianist, in a special benefit concert at Wellington Avenue Church, 615 W. Wellington, at 2:30 p.m. Call 663-1781 for tickets and information.

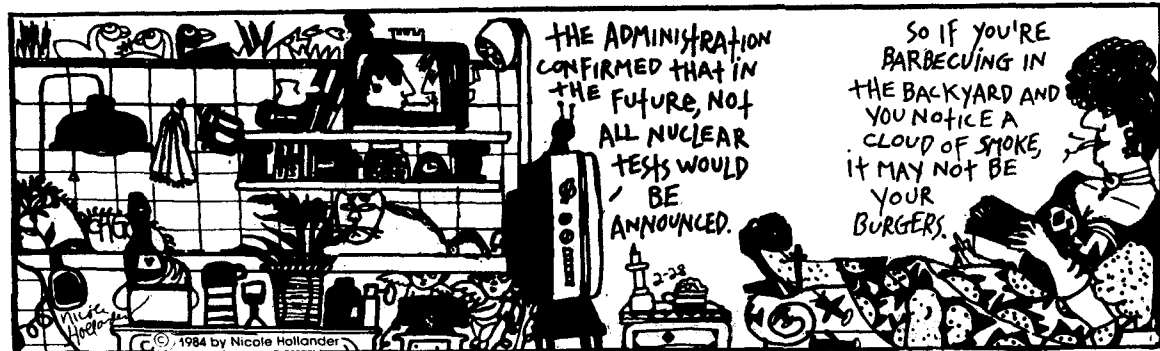
SACRAMENTO, CA

March 11

WAND (Women's Action for Nuclear Disarmament) presents Dr. Helen Caldicott and Dr. William Caldicott speaking on: "1984—The Most Important Year of Our Lives" Sunday, 10:00 a.m. at Sacramento City College, 3835 Freeport Blvd. Tickets: \$3.50, SCC Business Office, or call (916) 451-2524 days; (916) 456-2040 eves.

SYLVIA

by Nicole Hollander



Jesse

Continued from page 9

of social justice. A nation 53 percent female ought to afford an equal rights amendment for women. After all, his wife is a woman, his mother is a woman, his daughter, his aunt.

Also, the government ought to have some responsibility to protect steel and agriculture. If you become dependent on foreign sources of steel, you can have your industrial base zapped. If you become dependent on foreign sources of food, your nation can starve.

In the past decade, the Democratic Party has been torn apart by conflicts between groups in the Rainbow Coalition and the old guard, with some of them being drawn into the conservative camp over issues like busing, affirmative action and integration.

The old wineskin must expand and make room for the new wine. It does not have to crack and split. You have a new generation of people who want to participate in the Democratic Party and not go to a third party. If the Party is wise enough to accommodate the majority of Democrats, it will win.

Under what conditions would you give up hope on the Democrats and support another party?

I don't want to project that. I'm not inclined to support a third party. Making the Democratic Party more effective is a legitimate goal on the one hand and removing the repressive Reagan regime is a legitimate goal on the other. We have to

delicately balance those two concerns.

Do you see some permanent political arrangement emerging out of the Rainbow Coalition?

It could very well be. Just as labor has an identity that grows out of converging interests of its members, the Rainbow has an identity that grows out of the interests of its members. The Rainbow is progressive in its politics, inclusive in its politics. It intentionally goes out of its way to pull people together across lines. It's a school of thought.

If you don't win the nomination, what do you want to achieve?

Delegates lose their role in July. The Rainbow continues. The struggle for corporate accountability will continue, pressure on the Defense Department to end waste and fraud and abuse and the rising danger—these dimensions of the Rainbow's life will serve notice on members of Congress, governors, those who would be president.

What do you think of Mondale?

I think instinctively he's a liberal and sensitive on social issues, cautious and traditional on foreign policy, but beyond that you must also judge a man by the company he keeps. This kinship with organized labor and unwillingness to challenge organized labor is a matter of great importance, because labor's record is not a progressive one relative to exclusionary practices on blacks, Hispanics and women. Also, labor looks at Poland quite differently from South Africa. Yet both governments impose martial law, break unions and arrest leaders. Lane Kirkland went along with the Grenada invasion. Mondale could never quite make up his mind whether it was right or wrong.

We were demonstrating against the war in Vietnam in the '60s. Mondale was supporting it. We went to the convention in 1968 in Chicago. Mondale was co-tailing Humphrey with [Mayor Richard J.] Daley forces. Last year Mondale came to Chicago to campaign against Harold Washington and went back to get [Alderman Edward] Vrdolyak's endorsement. Mondale has been on the board of Control Data, which set up the computer network of South Africa's secret police agency. So his relations with Control Data and South Africa, the Vietnam war, the Grenada situation, the late response to American military involvement in Lebanon, no challenge whatsoever to Israel in invading Lebanon, using ostensibly defensive American weapons for offensive purposes—these are matters he'll have to sharpen up on.

Jackson has his own handicaps. In his eyes, they are mainly "an historical association with a movement [for civil rights] that was perceived to be narrowly focused but was actually broadly focused," benefiting poor whites, Hispanics and even businesses. Jackson laments he is still referred to as a "black leader," implying a narrow base. But, he says, "these [college] kids that follow me today obligate me to speak to and for them as well as for black and Hispanic students."

Jackson's evangelical preacher style, much as it inspires, makes some older New Hampshire residents uncomfortable. "For New Hampshire it's a little bit of a rousy-rousy approach," observed Ham Chase, a civil engineer who has lived in Keene for 30 years. "But we can go for this. He's saying things that have to be said. He appeals to the better things of

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people and doesn't cut anybody out. All this nice eloquence is good. They need some enthusiasm. I like Mondale as a political figure, but Mondale has all the votes he needs. I would much rather give my vote to this guy."

"Don't throw away your conscience," McGovern advised Iowa voters in the *Des Moines Register* debate. His strong showing there with a shoestring campaign suggests many heeded him. Jackson is the beneficiary of much of that sentiment in New Hampshire. "With Mondale out front," said retired city planner Joan Cobb, "it leaves us freer to vote our conscience."

Jackson's campaign in New Hampshire started with a small core of environmentalists. Then the national campaign hired a number of ACORN organizers to run the operation. Many chapters of ACORN, a national federation of low-income organizing projects, have endorsed Jackson, and preliminary results of a poll of members showed Jackson with 56 percent support, Mondale up with 30 percent—shy of the three-fourths needed for organizational endorsement.

Jackson has clearly succeeded in three major tasks in New Hampshire. He has made it clear he is not a candidate for blacks only. He has shown that even in this conservative state there is a strong left-liberal vote. And he has demonstrated that with the right strategy and the will, Democrats can bring into their fold large numbers of the politically disaffected, both white and black.

"After Reagan's flood," Jackson told the audience in Keene, "we must see the sign of the rainbow." Pot of gold at the end or not, it has certainly brightened the wintry political landscape.

CLASSIFIED

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Someplace you've never even heard of is suddenly in the news, and you find yourself staring glumly at the "Troublestan at a Glance" box in the *New York Times*. What I need, you say to yourself, is an "at a glance" box that answers my kind of questions. What you need is *World View 1984*, edited by Francois Geze, Yves Laco  te and Alfredo Valladao, the French-based publication now in its second year as an English-language version of a year-book offering "an alternative, critical view of the world." Most useful are its short, punchy and analytic articles on major issues—international trade, for example—and its debates on such topics as the Palestinian state question and the New International Information Order (the ostensible grounds for our huffy pullout from UNESCO). Sometimes the articles answer questions you never would have thought to ask. There are pieces on sex tours of Southeast Asia, on how banks rate countries and on mystical religion in Brazil. An innovative section on culture includes articles on feminist fiction, Japanese comics and the following excerpt, an analysis of video games as nuclear culture by culture critic Ariel Dorfman's (author of *The Empire's Old Clothes*). —Pat Aufderheide

The Empire's

By Ariel Dorfman

AS THE VIDEO GAME craze spread across the U.S., parents complained of coins vanishing and doc-diagnosed new ailments, like "joystick hand" and "asteroids finger." Some towns prohibited the coin-op games; others issued ordinances regarding age limits and the times that arcades should close; and certain countries even forbade the entertainment as pernicious.

The Amusement Game Manufacturers of America, however, did not complain. In the midst of the recession they reported that 32 billion 25-cent coins had been played into the machines during 1982. In fact, until E.T.'s phenomenal success saved the film industry, video games had been the year's top money-spinner in entertainment, ahead of movies and records.

With such profits to be had, it is not strange that many justifications have appeared for video games. Educational consultants find them a means of acquiring computer literacy; behavioral scientists speak of "interacting with the technology of the future" and "confidence building"; psychologists point out that kids are working out their aggressions on the games rather than spending their money on drugs, and that unathletic youths can use the games to acquire status with their peers.

Many of these explanations are probably true, but they do not account, by themselves, for the games' popularity. There may be another explanation. Video games in their present form would be inconceivable if the world did not have the means to blow itself to pieces—because the same computer technology that spawned real missiles with warheads also spawned those mock missiles with psychedelic flares on the screen.

Video games imitate the strategy, the targeting, the jargon of the "war games" played in real rooms by real adults in uniform. (*Newsweek* reported that the Pentagon has been using versions of video games as training devices.) However, the relationship is deeper: electronic games are the product of a society where apocalypse is possible. Though the scenes on the screens supposedly occur in faraway constellations where indefinable aliens are opponents, they are really ways of acting out, at another level, the nuclear predicament.

This is overtly so only in "Missile Command," a game where the player must defend six U.S. cities (in a more "international" version, "Red Alert," there are five foreign cities plus New York), with a final annihilation by a mushrooming of clouds as the words "the end" flash on a spasmodic farewell. In other games, though the alien may have an extraterrestrial name, the result and the process are the same: in "Asteroids," "Defender," "Omega Race," "Galaxians," the triangle, the humanoid, the ship are ultimately melted, vaporized and zapped out of existence no mat-

Continued on page 14

Ariel Dorfman

examines nuclear videos

New

Games